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Missile Verification Official Gives Briefing

LD2203161690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 March (TASS)—A press conference given by Mikhail Streltsov, USSR representative in the Soviet-American commission on verification [kontrol], which took place here today was devoted to the problems of settling the differences between the Soviet and American sides regarding the use of the Cargoscan apparatus for verification [kontrol] of the treaty on medium and short-range missiles.

The reason for the press conference, Mikhail Strelstov said, was a series of tendentious speeches by official representatives and also utterances of the mass media of the United States on this question. He explained that according to the protocol on inspections, the American side has the right to install at the entry point of the Votkinsk machine-building plant a device for receiving X-ray images of the content of launch and transport containers leaving the plant in railroad cars. This device should be used for monitoring [kontrol] the implementation of the commitments of the Soviet side on closing down the manufacture of RSD-10 (SS-20) medium-range missiles. In connection with this, the characteristics and methods of use of the American cargoscan apparatus as applied to the SS-25 manufactured in Votkinsk were agreed within the framework of the Soviet-American commission on verification.

As a result of experiments carried out in February this year by Soviet specialists with the participation of a U.S. inspection group after the Cargoscan apparatus was installed, it was established that, in several parameters, it did not conform to the memorandum on verification [kontrol]. That gave rise to disagreements. In order to remove them, Mikhail Streltsov said that a meeting of Soviet and American experts was held in Votkinsk last week. As a result of discussion, the American side introduced a number of changes to the apparatus and to the functioning regime of the Cargoscan system, thereby removing the USSR's anxiety.

"After the experimental testing of such changes by Soviet specialists, the Cargoscan apparatus has been put into operation and is being used in the course of inspection in complete accordance with the clauses of the memorandum on verification [kontrol]," Mikhail Streltsov stated.

USSR Ready To Withdraw Troops in Europe

LD2203171490 Hamburg DPA in German 1625 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The Soviet Union has declared its readiness to withdraw all troops stationed in Europe by 1995/96, and to dissolve all military bases on foreign territory by the year 2000. In an interview for the Soviet press agency NOVOSTI, published today, Lieutenant General Dimitriy Grikevich, chief of the Main Staff of the Soviet Ground Forces, said that Moscow is also prepared to "discuss the issue of Soviet troops in Poland" if Warsaw wishes.

Moscow is already unilaterally reducing its units stationed on GDR territory. An agreement at the Vienna disarmament negotiations would make possible further steps of this nature. The presence of foreign troops on GDR and FRG territory is a special issue that has to be solved while taking into account the security of all interested states. Due to the balance of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, Moscow wants to limit the total strength of all troops in central Europe, and not merely those of the superpowers.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Pact Meeting

AU2203133690 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by Olga Trofimova, NOVOSTI commentator: "New Europe on Scales of History"—especially for NARODNA ARMIYA; place and date not given]

[Text] [Trofimova] The Prague consultative meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact member countries has ended. Could you describe briefly the results of the meeting?

[Shevardnadze] This essentially was the first such meeting after the serious changes that have taken place in East Europe. What was even more important is that the German issue—the most topical issue of European and world politics—was in the center of the discussions.

What is my general impression? I am satisfied. This was a frank [otkroven] and constructive discussion. Many important and interesting proposals related to the German issue and questions of European security were made. There were different opinions and approaches. This is characteristic of the present state of our relations with our allies. However, on many issues, especially those of paramount importance, our positions were close. I can say that we have more things in common than things that divide us, even if there is not complete trust in our relations. For this we need time and personal contacts.

For example, I have already met several times with the Polish foreign minister, Skubiszewski. Despite the fact that he perhaps has different convictions than mine, we established another level of mutual understanding. Constructive conversation always takes the upper hand. In short, trust, contacts—this means a lot.

[Trofimova] Did the Prague meeting accelerate the solution of the German issue?

[Shevardnadze] To a certain extent—yes—mostly because of the following conclusion: The Warsaw Pact is alive. The Warsaw Pact is functioning and its existence is necessary. We, the participants, want to cooperate. I can say that at the meeting it was not I who invoked the need to maintain consultations. The other ministers supported the establishment of a permanently functioning working group, which will coordinate the positions on the German issue. I also supported this proposal, which was unanimously adopted.

What does all this speak of? It speaks of the necessity that has emerged to have common positions also on such a complex issue as the creation of a unified Germany and the main aspects of Europe's collective security. This common interest has been noted in the final communique.

[Trofimova] How to you view the issue of the military-political status of the future united Germany?

[Shevardnadze] This subject concerns everybody—there are contradictions and different approaches. However, the main thing I would like to stress is the forming of all-European security structures, which could serve as guarantors in resolving conflict situations or at the emergence of confrontation, and which could facilitate the elimination of the military confrontation and the division of Europe.

For the time being we are not unanimous as to the future of united Germany. I did not use the concept of neutrality in our discussions, and did so not because we have relinquished this approach. It is precisely a united and neutral Germany that would correspond to our interests and the interests of Europe. However, there are neutral states which have a great military potential. Therefore the level and quantity of weapons is the decisive factor. Such an approach is needed not only with respect to Germany. Obviously, we all, Europeans, must be guided by the defense sufficiency doctrine. The implementation of this idea is the main foundation of politics. I think that we could find a common language with our Western partners on this basis.

[Trofimova] Did you talk about the necessity of improving the mechanism of cooperation within the Warsaw Pact?

[Shevardnadze] I can immediately tell you—we were unanimous on this issue. In many aspects now we have good cooperation, even better than before. As a result of the work conducted by the experts we practically agreed on the formulations related to the activity of the Political Consultative Committee, the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and the Committee of Ministers of Defense. A mutually beneficial solution was adopted on the issue of appointing the commander in chief, the cooperation of the political and other organs, and other issues.

We also talked significantly about renewing the Warsaw Pact and increasing the share of political cooperation within the Pact.

[Trofimova] How do you think the all-European process will continue to develop now?

[Shevardnadze] Much depends on how the work of the "six" proceeds. The first meeting of experts has already taken place in Bonn. It showed that the mechanism adopted by the "six" affords a specific possibility of exercising control over the process of German unification. The next meeting will take place in Berlin during the first half of April. The third meeting will already be at the level of ministers and I do not think that we will come to it with empty hands.

[Trofimova] Do the processes of renewal in East Europe facilitate progress along the road of constructing the all-European home?

[Shevardnadze] If the democratic processes in that region strengthen and become irreversible, then everything will be normal and we shall successfully construct the common European home. However, if destructive forces emerge on the stage (and such forces exist both in our country and in neighboring countries), then the construction will be more complicated.

I am convinced—a democratic Europe corresponds to our national interests.

Air Travel Prices for E. Bloc Countries Raised

PM0503113790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Closer to Real Prices"]

[Text] It will now be more expensive for Aeroflot passengers to fly to, say, Bulgaria, Hungary, or Cuba.... Incidentally, their fellow foreign air travelers are in the same position. As of 1 March tickets for flights between member countries of the Single Aviation Passenger Tariff system will increase in price by 25 percent. This interdepartmental agreement unites Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Romania, Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam, and the DPRK, and extends solely to citizens of those countries.

"The increase in the tariff was an initiative by a number of our partners," was the comment made by M. Gorbunov, chief of the USSR Civil Aviation Administration's International Commercial Department. "This question has been discussed for around two years and has become particularly acute in connection with the reorientation of the East European countries toward a market economy. After all, the existing tariff is artificially low—even now, after the increase. For instance, a ticket for a flight from Moscow to any of the aforesaid countries is half or one-third the price of a flight the same distance to any other country. Yet recently there has been a notable increase in the cost of air navigation services for aircraft and for technical servicing at airports. There have even been proposals, from Hungary and Poland in particular, to raise the tariff by 50 percent and more. So the accord that has been reached can be considered a reasonable compromise."

For those making tourist trips air ticket prices will go up as of 1 April. Needless to say, they are still entitled to the preferential tariff.

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 22 Mar

NATO's Woerner To Visit

LD2203142890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—Manfred Woerner, secretary general of NATO, has accepted an invitation to make an official visit to the Soviet Union this year, Genadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, reported at a briefing today. Woerner was invited by Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, with the aim of developing political dialogue and contacts with NATO.

"The dates of the visit will be agreed through diplomatic channels", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted.

Diplomatic Ties With Namibia

LD2203145790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1406 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 March, (TASS)—The Soviet Union and Namibia are establishing diplomatic relations, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry, reported here today at a briefing. The USSR diplomatic ties group in Windhoek will be transformed into an embassy, while a Namibian Embassy in Moscow will be opened "at an appropriate time," added the diplomat.

One can regard Namibia's acquisition of independence as the beginning of the end of the "cold war" on the "Dark Continent," stated Gennadiy Gerasimov. If you trace the development of events which have led to the disappearance of the last colony from the map of the African continent, it turns out that the United Nations, the USSR, the United States and other countries, in particular, Cuba, acted together to resolve the Namibian problem, he stressed.

The USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry representative stressed that the declaration of the independence of Namibia testifies to the start of profound changes in the region; opens up good prospects for settling internal conflict in neighbouring Angola; and may have a favorable influence on the situation in Mozambique, where a peaceful settlement is also possible.

'Deep Regret' Over Romania

LD2203150490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1418 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 March (TASS)—The interethnic clashes that have recently taken place on Romanian territory, in the city of Tigru Mures, and which have been accompanied by acts of violence and led to human casualties "give rise to feelings of deep regret" in the Soviet Union. Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry information directorate, stated this at a briefing today. As historical experience shows, manifestations of extremism, or of national intolerance, no matter what their motivation, are not capable of leading to the solution of the existing problems, the Soviet diplomat stressed. We express the hope that the measures taken by the Romanian goverment will lead to the settlement, in the interests of all nationalities inhabiting Romania, of the conflict which has arisen and will avert an escalation of it, which would pose a potentiual threat to the democratic processes and stability in this region of Europe.

Khmer Rouge Activities

LD2203162690 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—"Despite protests by the international community, the Khmer Rouge are intensifying the forced movement of Cambodian refugees from camps under their control on Thai territory to Cambodia," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

Twenty thousand people have been repatriated in this way since early this year, a spokesmen for the Pol Pot command disclosed. The figure will be 30,000 by the end of April, he said.

"Refugees are the target of arbitrariness and lawlessness on the part of the Khmer opposition," Gerasimov said. "The Khmer Rouge and their allies replenish their armed detachments for the purpose of carrying on the civil war in the country by forcibly recruiting refugees from these camps."

"In this regard, Thailand's idea to set up on its territory 'neutral camps' for Cambodian refugees under the control of the United Nations Organisation enjoys increasing support in the world, including at the United Nations. It is envisaged to hamper the forced movement of refugees to Cambodia," Gerasimov pointed out.

"In the USSR they believe that this idea, once implemented, will ensure the observance of refugees' human rights, their security, preparation for a future peaceful life and guarantee the right to a voluntary repatriation to the homeland."

"All this will undoubtedly provide one more impetus to the movement towards peace in Cambodia," Gerasimov added.

European Development Bank

LD2203173390 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The Soviet Union received the idea of setting up a European bank for reconstruction and development with understanding and support, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said at a briefing here today.

This bank could be one of the new structures of cooperation in Europe and promote the formation of the European economic space, he said.

The spokesman noted that the Soviet side is concerned over the desire of U.S. officials, including President George Bush, to politicise an agreement on setting up the bank and to introduce discriminatory provisions against the USSR.

He also stressed that the Soviet intention to participate in the bank was prompted by a desire to set up a new institution for multilateral cooperation with equal rights and obligations for all its members, which would be able to promote efficiently historical changes in Europe.

"The Soviet Union will not seek to upset the balanced distribution of the bank's credits between recipient countries and proceeds from the premise that if the USSR requests the bank for aid during the period of its establishment, it will use credits in a proportion not exceeding the total sum of Soviet obligations in the bank's capital," Gerasimov said. The Soviet side is also confident that the progress of economic reform and the consolidation of the bank's credit basis will create prerequisites for expanding the bank's operations in the USSR, the spokesman noted.

Journalists' Access to Lithuania

LD2203175190 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Moscow March 22 TASS—[passage omitted] Answering questions about Lithuania, Gerasimov said that access to this republic for special correspondents arriving from abroad could be restricted. At the same time he stated that journalists permanently accredited to Moscow might make trips to Lithuania if they observe the appropriate rules.

U.S. National Security Report

LD2203204990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] A briefing on current questions of international politics took place in the news center of the USSR Foreign Ministry. In addressing journalists, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said in part:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] We have not yet given sufficient attention to studying the report that U.S. President George Bush sent to Congress under the title: "On Strategy in the Sphere of the United State's National Security." But, our intial response is positive and we are fully in agreement with moving, as President Bush expressed it, beyond the framework of the policy of deterrence. We have always criticized that policy, and if our policy could, perhaps, also be interpreted as a policy of deterrence, although we did not employ that terminology, we really need to depart from those old concepts of the period of confrontation to new concepts. And we note with great satisfaction here that the United States, as this report says, will strive to establish relations with the USSR which, and I quote, will increasingly become relations of cooperation. And we receive with satisfaction this conceptual assessment of the situation in the report which says that the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people should recognize that this caution, and this refers to the United State's maintenance of its defense potential, that this caution is based on uncertainty and not on hostility. It is a good thing that hostility is disappearing from our relations, and I think that we should apply our efforts to ensure that uncertainty should disappear from our relations, as well. Thus, our initial reaction to this report is positive. [end recording]

Confidence-Building Talks Hold Plenary Session

LD2203220890 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Vienna March 23 TASS—The first full-delegation meeting will be held in the Austrian capital today at the sixth session of the talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. Previously the session's work, which began on March 19, was done at working groups' level.

An important step was made at the previous session: The partners moved from the setting out of positions to practical work on future accords under the direction of coordinators from neutral and non- aligned states.

Thereby the negotiating process reached a qualitatively new stage.

The course of activities in drafting groups shows that there are favourable prerequisites to reach mutually acceptable accords on such confidence-building measures as the development of contacts along military channels, the holding of annual meetings of experts from 35 CSCE countries on confidence- and security-building measures, and the refinement of the communications system.

USSR Stand on Confidence Measures Sent to UN

LD2203151190 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The Soviet permanent mission at the United Nations in New York will today send a letter to the United Nations secretary-general, setting out the Soviet Union's stand on confidence-building measures, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Boris Krasulin told a briefing today.

The document will convey the Soviet Union's approach to the matter and some practical considerations.

Disclosing the contents of the letter, Krasulin emphasised that the Soviet Union supports the U.N. chief's initiative concerning establishing a U.N. multilateral war risk reduction centre.

The main function of such a centre would be to reduce the risk of an outbreak of either nuclear war or conflicts with the use of conventional weapons.

The centre should be linked by direct communications lines to the capitals of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and with the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Structures necessary for the functioning of such a centre are already in existence within the framework of the U.N. Secretariat, specifically, the Office for Research and the Collection of Information, which will make it possible to avoid additional spending during the establishment of the centre, the Soviet diplomat said.

PRAVDA Commentator on 'Historic' Changes

PM2003161990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Mar 90 Second Edition p 7

[Anatoliy Karpychev "View from Moscow": "Opinions—Ours and Theirs"]

[Text] When trying to decide what "View" would be most suitable for this issue, we in the international sections plumped without hesitation for the extraordinary Congress and the election of the first president of the USSR. It was an event of historic significance because our destiny, and the fate of the changes which the West associates with this event and thus also the fate of the country, were dependent on the outcome of the Congress decisions. Judging by the predictions, no one in the West had any doubts that M.S. Gorbachev would become president, but on the other hand elections are elections, and no one was prepared to give any guarantees either that everything would take place exactly according to the scenario. Making predictions at the moment is a thankless task.

Now the Congress debates have subsided and the president has been elected and sworn in. The West rates this event highly. In particular, it notes the exceptional importance of this event for overcoming the crisis which is rocking the country. It also observes that the president has assumed office at a difficult moment. At the same time this step is seen as progress by the Soviet Union along the path of democracy. It has also been described as "a spurt in the direction of consolidating power."

It would be possible to cite many opinions—there is no shortage of them—but in my view they would be no revelation for the readers. However, the assessments made of this event in the Western press by certain of our compatriots, including people's deputies, might well be a revelation. The tenor of the views expressed by a number of "Gorbachev's critics"—as U.S. magazines refer to them—could be summed up in the formula: "The president of the disintegrating Soviet Union can only be a dictator..." Or "the empire must fall apart, but instead of moving forward toward dismantling it, we behave like rabbits mesmerized by a python."

I even got the impression that there are more "opponents" of presidential power in our country than abroad. Nonsense? Who knows. Some people may say: This is quite natural, since the West is indifferent to what sort of power there is in our country, but we have to live with the new president. However, let us not be too hasty with our conclusions. In following the Congress proceedings, the West was far from indifferent to what was happening in our country and how the clash of opinions would end. Alas, the same cannot be said about some of our people's deputies. I hope they will not take this as an insult, but even at a time of supreme responsibility for the fate of the country, as symbolized by the Congress, they saw fit to quarrel, fall prey to ambitions, and behave so incorrectly that, honestly speaking, one felt ashamed. We very much want to look like politicians "over there," but we are still looking like politicians "over here" and finding it very difficult to master the science of parliamentary proceedings.

There is another thing I would like to bemoan: For some reason we have begun to forget that the term "perestroyka" is exclusively ours as to its origin, content, and experience. Sometimes I hear dissatisfied voices claiming that we are lagging behind, dragging our feet while in East European countries, where the process started later, more has been achieved and asking why we are marking time and refusing to draw on their experience. I listen to this and think: There is very little experience as yet, and its value is very ambivalent... Are people still not tired yet of measuring everything by "whoever is out in front at the moment"? Multiple-choice elections have already been held in our country. In Hungary they will take place 25 March, in the GDR they are now under way. When certain people's deputies are persistently calling for a "roundtable," for a division of power, that is, one would like to ask them: From whom do you want to "take away" power—yourselves, or other people's deputies? True, the apparatus is still strong, the mechanism is operated by the system, but the situation has changed greatly over the past five years. This was also borne out by the congress. It is impossible to overlook this. Just as it is impossible to overlook the fact that the party is renouncing its monopoly of power. However, in my view certain Western journalists understand this better than our radicals. Although... there are different kinds of radicals.

Those who do not want to see progress will never see it. We are forever imagining that certain people want to outwit others, and therefore mistrust has become a standard feature of our political life. This was also evident at the congress. It is not a pretty sight, and it hampers work and the consolidation of forces. And what is worse is when appreciable losses and the entire responsibility is laid at M.S. Gorbachev's door alone, when he is blamed for all our "crises." What about the deputies? Do they not share responsibility with the president? The Western press understands that "with the introduction of presidential power neither the economic nor the political situation will change immediately." The situation can only be changed by work, by work alone. I say this, and again I hear the words of our "politicians" who have reviled everyone and everything. One of the newspapers, noting this syndrome of irresponsibility, warns the president that the more power he has, the more blame he will get.

Although President Bush and the leaders of other states have said that they do not want to meddle in our debate on the choice of Soviet president, I believe that they were nonetheless not indifferent to who is chosen. They have already done business with M.S. Gorbachev and clearly would like to continue with him what they have begun. Moreover, the new Soviet-U.S. summit is approaching. This is the second theme of today's View from Moscow.

I recall how ordinary and commonplace a recent announcement sounded noting that President Bush and M.S. Gorbachev had talked to each other on the telephone. In the past this would have evoked great and prolonged wonderment, while now we perceive it as nothing unusual. "It was a good conversation," Bush noted, "and I intend to continue the consultations." "Did you ring him," the newsmen asked. "Yes, I rang him." "How long did the conversation last?" "Some 40 minutes."

Then the president made a brief statement. It opened with words which are quite noteworthy, in my opinion. "This morning I rang President Gorbachev..." A good phrase between people. But we know how difficult the path toward it was. And even President Bush admitted that after the conversation he recalled the not-too-distant days when such a conversation was absolutely impossible. The situation at the time was characterized by confrontation, excessive rhetoric, and tension bordering on hostility. "Now the rhetoric has been replaced by good sense and tranquillity," the statement noted. "As president I intend to consult President Gorbachev frequently in order to keep the door open for talks and peace. These are exciting times."

A few days ago, interviewing Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze together with other journalists, I asked him how he rates President Bush's words. The minister replied:

"In my opinion, this is a new form of relations built on trust. In such an atmosphere it is easy to discuss any problem..."

The telephone conversation at summit level is one of the features of the rapidly changing world. We barely manage to follow the movements of heads of state, ministers, diplomats, initiatives, "roundtables," and discussions. We are still adjusting today to what happened with such speed and stunning effect in the countries of East Europe in 1989, which has been described as "a year of revolution." Politicians and experts shrug their shoulders: "Who could have known..."

No one.

This is probably why the term "unpredictability" has appeared in the political vocabulary.

We have been through a lot, and much still lies ahead of us. We have come to understand a great deal, but there is even more that we will have to learn. Therefore let us not be afraid of unpredictability. I do not regard it as the hand of fate or as helplessness but as a reflection of the fact that the world is living through unprecedented changes. It has become much more complicated, our philosophically constructed world, and sometimes it becomes incomprehensible when it does not fit in with our old notions, while new ones are only just emerging or germinating and we are intimidated by our inability to grasp everything completely and at once.

However, who says that there must be "instant" understanding? Only dogmas are absorbed in their final shape once and for all, while this process...

It is probably only natural that in such a rapidly changing world there are more questions than answers. However, another thing is also obvious: The world is becoming more humane.

"Soviet tanks are leaving Europe; so who is the enemy?"—this is a question which was asked in the U.S. Congress. And do you know what the answer was? "The enemy for us is unpredictability and instability."

Our world is going round wrecked by constant troubles. There are many of us on earth, and we are all different. Will we find points of contact between our interests? It is to be hoped that we will.

The art of living together, feeling respect for each other, a life without fear—this is the behest of the times. The idea of the common European home, and in the longer term a common planetary home has sprung precisely from the perception of a new way of life.

We have boldly pushed open the door to talks and peace, as President Bush has said. We have done it so that it would be possible to say as a matter of fact: "This morning I called Gorbachev" or Bush, or Margaret Thatcher, or Mitterrand, or Kohl...

Without such communication lines we would all be uncomfortable today.

And I close these deliberations with an "unpredictable" letter received at the editorial office from the FRG. One Otto Lekhelt [name as transliterated] sent us an unusual text—a prayer. In the hope that readers will have no objections, I want to acquaint you with it. After all, the man wrote the letter with good intentions.

"Dear PRAVDA readers."

"Again and again I read with a certain feeling of discomfort that you are dissatisfied with something or other. I do understand you. Nonetheless, take heart, work hard, and help each other. Do not seek only material values. We value Gorbachev highly, and we hope that you like him too. Therefore, I ask you, read the following prayer every day:

"Our Father, we thank thee for giving the Russian people a worthy head of state;

"Preserve peace for us and all peoples and send all peoples just leaders."

United States & Canada

Bush Calls for Peaceful Discussion on Lithuania

LD2203231590 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Washington March 23 TASS—President George Bush said here on Thursday that in the opinion of the U.S. Administration problems related to Lithuania can be worked out in peaceful discussion between the parties.

He told a news conference in the White House that he was certain neither side in the conflict wanted to see force used.

Bush said there exists "certain realities" in the USSR's control over its territory.

He said the United States does not recognise the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union. "However, there are certain realities in life. Lithuanians are well aware of them. And they should talk, as they are, to Soviet officials about these differences."

Bush said that any goals pursued by Lithuania should be achieved through calm talks and discussion between the parties involved.

U.S. Senate Rejects Resolution on Lithuania

LD2203115190 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Washington March 22 TASS—The U.S. Senate voted 59-36 to reject the draft resolution on Lithuania put forward by ultra-conservative Senator Jesse Helms.

Helms called on the American Administration to recognise the Lithuanian independence and establish diplomatic relations with it immediately.

Such issues must be decided by the President, Senator John Chaffe (R) stressed. Senator Dale Bumpers (D) said that such a resolution would only harm the situation.

U.S. 'Confusion' Over Lithuanian Issue Noted

LD2203185190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Commentary by A. Korshunov]

[Text] [Announcer] News agencies are reporting that the U.S. Senate, the upper chamber of Congress, has thrown out a bill that Senator Helms, who has a reputation as an ultraconservative, proposed on the so-called Lithuanian question. Helms proposed that the U.S. Administration should recognize Lithuania's independence and immediately establish diplomatic relations with it. Here is our commentary from journalist Aleksandr Korshunov:

[Korshunov] The very fact that such a resolution is discussed confirms the animated and broad nature of the debate in Washington, in U.S. political circles, over whether there is any point in the United States interfering in the situation that has developed in one of the Soviet republics. Some say that the United States must help Lithuania secure its independence in the same way that a few centuries ago some countries helped the United States to obtain its independence. Others, including many conservatives and many press organs, are inclined to take a more cautious and reserved view, rightly believing that interference in the Soviet Union's internal affairs might damage U.S.-Soviet relations.

The statements that official spokesmen are making are notable for their pronounced contradictions. Let us just take a recent example: At a meeting with the press, White House spokesman Fitzwater used the term the Lithuanian Government, although the U.S. Administration has not officially recognized that government. Spokesmen for the administration, in the meantime, are continually emphasizing that the United States did not recognize the legitimacy of Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union. Overall, then, there seems to be a great deal of confusion over the Lithuanian issue.

Here by way of illustration, is a passage from the discussion between Fitzwater, the official White House spokseman, and the journalists:

Question: Marlin, you constantly talk about the Government of Lithuania as if it were an independent foreign state. Is this how the United States sees it?

Fitzwater: We have never recognized Lithuania's incorporation into the USSR, and it is in this context that we see events.

Journalist again: But for the last few days you have been referring to them as the Government of Lithuania.

Fitzwater attempted a clumsy denial: But this is no change in policy.

In that case, the journalist asked, what is meant by the Government of Lithuania?

Fitzwater repeated himself: There is no change in policy.

The journalist was stubborn as well: So what is meant by the Lithuanian Government, then?

Marlin, clearly tired out, brought the dialogue to a close: I don't understand your question.

This style of answer bears witness to the ambiguity of the White House's position on this issue. Yet there are many in the administration who think that to recognize the independence of the Lithuanian state now would be an act of interference in the USSR's affairs, an act that would far from improve the climate of Soviet- U.S. relations. Realistically minded politicians evidently realize that a predictable Soviet Union firmly progressing along the path of domestic reform is, after all, a better partner than a country in the grip of unrest, including separatist unrest.

It should be added that the Americans are also under some pressure from those forces in Lithuania with which the republic's nationalistic policy is associated. Correspondents for THE WASHINGTON POST recently interviewed Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, in his Vilnius office. And the terminology he chose for his conversation with the journalists was unusual for a Soviet politician. He spoke, for instance, of the Soviets losing the third world war in terms of economic well-being, harmony, and secure existence in the world community.

THE WASHINGTON POST correspondents noted that Landsbergis was preoccupied and probably frustrated with what he described as Washington's mild concern over President Gorbachev's actions. The deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, Algirdas Brazauskas, used stronger words. He told the Americans that they [Lithuanians] would like the United States to adopt a more concrete and definite position. The West, however, and in particular the United States, is in no hurry to give that sign of moral and political support so coveted by Landsbergis and Brazauskas—to recognize their Lithuania, that is.

Still, the dominant view at meetings with highly placed administration staff, experts, and presidential advisors is that one should not throw a wrench in Gorbachev's works, because it might produce the opposite result. Outside interference in the affairs of such an enormous, multiethnic, and complex country as the Soviet Union runs counter to the spirit that has begun to establish itself in international affairs in recent years.

Bush Says Summit Date, Venue Not Yet Fixed

LD2203210990 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Washington March 22 TASS—U.S. President George Bush said in Washington today that a date and venue for his forthcoming summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had not yet been set but would be decided upon soon.

He spoke at a news conference immediately following his meeting with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Bush emphasised that most of the work at the summit would be done in Washington. The President said that the question of a date for the summit had already been discussed during talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and that it would be determined soon. Bush added that a date must be set quickly because the two sides have extremely busy schedules of various political meetings and activities.

Bush Congratulatory Message to Gorbachev

PM1103125190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Message from U.S. President George Bush "to His Excellency M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR" under the general heading "Congratulations to the President of the USSR"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President,

Please accept my congratulations on the occasion of your election as president of the USSR. On behalf of the American people I wish you success in your work at the head of the Soviet Union at this new stage of perestroyka. Not only the peoples of the Soviet Union, but also the entire world are benefitting as a result of the democratization process.

Our forthcoming meeting in June will provide the opportunity to expand those significant spheres of cooperation which have already taken shape in Soviet-U.S. relations in recent years. In anticipation of receiving you in June, I am counting on many years of constructive cooperation between our countries.

Yours sincerely,
George Bush.

China

CPC's Wang Renzhi, Delegation Visit Moscow

Wang Meets Kapto

PM2103145090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Visits"]

[Text] The CPC Central Committee delegation headed by Wang Renzhi, member of the CPC Central Committee and head of the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, which is visiting the Soviet Union, has been received by A.S. Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department.

During the conversation, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, there was an exchange of opinions on questions of mutual interest.

Delegation Visits PRAVDA Offices

PM2203133590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 90 Second Edition p 4

[B. Barakhta report: "Meeting at PRAVDA. We Believe in Socialism"]

[Text] A delegation of PRC party officials visited the PRAVDA editorial offices yesterday, 21 March. It is headed by Wang Renzhi, member of the CPC Central Committee and chief of the CPC Central Committee

Propaganda Department. A keen, friendly conversation took place in the conference room. It touched on numerous topical questions. Both hosts and guests expressed their opinions.

It was noted during the conversation that interparty contacts between the CPSU and the CPC were restored following M.S. Gorbachev's historic visit to Beijing. Contacts between the two parties are now successfully developing. The visitors to the editorial office asked numerous questions about the CPSU's life and activity, namely about the preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress, the discussion of the draft Central Committee platform, and the problems associated with the party's renewal. These and other questions asked by the Chinese comrades were answered by I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and PRAVDA chief editor.

The exchange of opinions touched the topic of party press traditions and the party press' role in perestroyka processes. L. Spiridonov, first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA, took part in the discussion of this question.

A detailed disucssion was held on events in East Europe. There was talk about the way PRAVDA covers them and about the appraisal of these events by the Soviet and Chinese sides. Opinions were expressed by Deputy Chief Editor A. Karpychev; B. Averchenko, member of the Editorial Collegium and editor of the Socialist Countries Department; and political observers V. Ovchinnikov and T. Kolesnichenko.

Jiang Zhenyun, chief of the CPC Central Committee Organizational Department Secretariat; Zheng Keyang, deputy chief of the CPC Central Committee Research Center for Questions of Reform; and others took part in the exchange of opinions.

Following the conversation, we briefly interviewed the delegation leader.

[PRAVDA] "Have you been to Moscow before?"

"This is my first visit to the Soviet Union," Wang Renzhi said. "I am very happy that my long-standing dream of visiting V.I. Lenin's motherland has come true."

[PRAVDA] "What is the purpose of your visit?"

[Wang] "We attach major importance to the development of ties with the CPSU. Your party has accumulated interesting experience, specifically in the implementation of reforms. We are studying it carefully, striving to get a deeper understanding of the situation in the CPSU and the Soviet Union. We read PRAVDA and are interested in the precongress debate which is being given broad coverage in your newspaper, especially its 'Discussion Page' rubric.

"In our opinion, the time was objectively ripe for reforms in the USSR and East Europe. People in China believe that events in the East European countries do not in any way testify to a collapse of the cause of socialism. We are looking into the future with optimism because we believe in socialism."

[PRAVDA] "And your impression from the conversation you had?"

[Wang] "In my view, we conducted a frank exchange of opinions on questions of mutual interest. We learned much that was new and of interest to us. Our delegation is grateful for this conversation."

Northeast Asia

ROK Given Temporary 'Most-Favored' Status

SK2303074090 Seoul YONHAP in English 0712 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 23 (YONHAP)—South Korean ruling party co-leader Kim Yong-sam and Sitaryan, chairman of the Soviet Commission on External Economic Affairs, held talks Friday on ways to increase economic exchanges between Seoul and Moscow. During the Kremlin talks, Kim called for early conclusion of an investment guarantee pact to promote Korean business investment in the Soviet Union.

Sitaryan rejected a formal investment guarantee agreement due to an absence of diplomatic relations, but agreed to conclude a "temporary agreement" giving Korea most-favored-nation treatment, a DLP [Democratic Liberal Party] official accompanying Kim said.

The temporary accord is to take effect when the two countries exchange consulates general in July and a formal investment guarantee accord could be concluded when full diplomatic relations are established, the official said. It is reported that the two nations will upgrade their consular departments to consulates general in July at the earliest.

Kim will address a seminar to be jointly hosted by the Korean ruling party and the Soviet Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) and visit Moscow University later Friday. He is in Moscow through Tuesday as a guest of IMEMO director Vladlen Martynov.

Upgraded ROK-USSR Consular Offices Planned

SK2303034490 Seoul YONHAP in English 0310 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 23 (YONHAP)—Soviet officials have proposed that South Korea and the Soviet Union upgrade their consular departments to consulate generals this summer, as a prelude to opening full diplomatic ties, Korean ruling party co-leader Kim Yong-sam said Friday [23 March].

Kim, who is in Moscow on an eight-day official trip, told Korean reporters that the proposal was made during talks between Korean and Soviet officials, including

Karen Brutents, first deputy head of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's International Department, on Thursday.

The co-leader of the Democratic Liberal Party said he sees no reason to reject the proposal, but he admitted it contradicts in principle the position of the Korean Government, which wants Seoul and Moscow to go direct to ambassador-level diplomatic ties without passing through the stage of official consular relations. "I think we could consider affirmatively the proposal for the opening of the consulate general as a pre-stage (of full ties)," Kim said.

A sour note was sounded by Pak Chol-on, the influential architect of President No Tae-u's northern policy of improving relations with socialist countries, who responded negatively to the proposal and pointed out that the government desires the two countries to go direct to full ties. Pak, who is accompanying Kim and also attended the Thursday meeting, said they did not discuss the consulate general. But other officials accompanying Kim discreetly predicted that the two nations will agree on upgrading the consular departments.

The proposal on the consulate general came as the possibility of opening diplomatic ties between Seoul and Moscow earlier than expected got a boost from talks between Kim and President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin Wednesday on normalization of bilateral relations and economic cooperation.

Korea opened a consular department in Moscow last month and the Soviet Union is expected to take the same action in Seoul soon under a protocol of agreement signed Nov. 17 last year.

A.I. Sirotyuk was named acting head of the department and dispatched to Seoul on Feb. 24 to prepare for opening the consular mission within the branch office of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Under the protocol of agreement, the consular department can carry out limited consular functions such as issuance of visas, protection of national interests and citizens and maintaining government-level contacts between Seoul and Moscow.

Korea has actively sought to improve relations with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries to create favorable circumstances for reducing tension and ensuring peace on the Korean peninsula and thus advancing reunification. The opening of consulates general would be seen by many as important progress in president No's diplomatic initiative.

The Soviet Union, an ally of South Korean adversary North Korea, has cautiously approached developing official or political-level ties with South Korea despite growing exchanges in non-political fields such as economy and trade, apparently aware of North Korea's position.

South Korea exported 208 million U.S. dollars worth of goods to the Soviet Union and imported 392 million dollars worth of goods last year, incurring 184 million dollars in trade deficit.

Kim, who became a government party leader after a lifetime as an oppositionist in the merger last month of his party with the ruling party and another opposition party, is in Moscow on his second trip with an 11-member official entourage. His visit was highlighted by the meeting with Gorbachev, the first between a top Soviet leader and a prominent South Korean politician.

Yakovlev Interviewed on Kim Yong-sam Talks

SK2303025290 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 23 Mar 90 p 2

[By correspondent Yi Song-chol]

[Text] Moscow—Aleksandr Yakovlev, a Politburo member in charge of external affairs and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's top aide on foreign policy, told Korean reporters here Wednesday that he finds no major stumbling block in the way of normalizing ties between Korea and the Soviet Union.

Emerging from a two-hour meeting with Kim Yong=sam, visiting Korean ruling party co-leader, Yakovlev said: "We exchanged a broad range of opinions on bilateral relations in a friendly and candid atmosphere and reached an agreement on the necessity for friendly ties between our two countries."

When pressed to disclose what was discussed between Kim and himself, Yakovlev, who once served as Soviet ambassador to Canada, said: "If Kim Yong-sam permits me to do so, I will."

Following excerpts from the brief press meeting between Yakovlev and Korean journalists.

Question: Would you tell us what was discussed at your meeting with Kim Yong-sam?.

Answer: Let me say first, I got a very good impression from today's meeting. We exchanged views on various issues pending between our two countries in a candid and friendly manner. What we have agreed on today is the necessity for friendly bilateral ties between our two countries.

Q: What do you think about prospects for bilateral relations? What do you think is the major stumbling block in the way of formal diplomatic ties?

A: I don't think there is any major stumbling block in the way that couldn't be overcome. There are, however, some difficulties on the way which both sides fully understand.

Q: When do you think formal ties could be set up?

A: Well, I have answered two major questions so far. Let me ask Kim Yong-sam to answer that particular question. (Throughout the brief press interview, Kim stood beside Yakovlev.)

Q: South Korea hopes to join the United Nations. What is the Soviet attitude toward this?

A: I think that kind of problem should be approached after reaching a broader consensus among the parties concerned. I can hardly predict what results would be brought about when Korea pushes for admittance to the United Nations.

Q: Korean businessmen think that proper governmental guarantees should be provided before they make any significant investments in the Soviet Union.

A: Korean businessmen are welcome to make investments in the Soviet Union and we are ready to discuss with Korean businessmen the terms and conditions of their investments here. If they have any problems, we will be willing to solve the problems jointly.

Yakovlev was then pressed again to disclose his personal views on the timing of formal ties between Seoul and Moscow.

Rather cautiously, he said: "Time will come when the decision should be made. Let's hope that a wise decision is made politically."

Kim Il-song Congratulatory Message to Gorbachev

PM2203165190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Message of congratulations from DPRK President Kim Il-song to M.S. Gorbachev on his election as president]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, USSR president

Noting with joy that you have been elected president of the USSR at the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies, I send you ardent congratulations on behalf of the Government of the DPRK, the Korean people, and also myself personally.

Your election as the first president of the USSR is very significant in your country's social development.

I take this opportunity to wish you with all my heart even greater success in your further work aimed at raising the people's well-being and defending peace and security throughout the world.

I express the confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation which have taken shape historically between the peoples of the two countries—Korea and the Soviet Union—will strengthen and develop day by day.

[Signed] Kim Il-song, president of the DPRK

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov on Baker Plan, Jewish Emigration

LD2203132890 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The Soviet Union is invigorating its policy in the Middle East and is going to put forward new initiatives, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov said at a press conference here today.

He pointed out that conditions were now favorable for the first time in many years for advancing towards a Middle East settlement. One of the main reasons is the new policy pursued by the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. "Arabs have made their choice. Now it is Israel's turn to make it. We hope that it will be a correct choice—in favor of peace," Vorontsov said.

He pointed out that Israel's plans to use immigrants, including from the Soviet Union, for settling the occupied lands was at present the centerpiece of the problem, because this increases tension in the region. The Soviet Union put forward an initiative to discuss Israel's illegal actions at a session of the U.N. Security Council, which would be a serious warning to Israel, Vorontsov continued. "No effort should be spared for the Security Council to adopt a serious and strict resolution mandatory for Israel, that would remind it of the need to fulfil international conventions and U.N. resolutions and would not allow Israel to settle on occupied lands those who do not live there. The stand assumed by the United States and other countries is encouraging. It gives grounds for hope that the resolution will be adopted. Israel must comply with the opinion of the world public, and we should do our utmost to make it comply with the resolution."

The Middle East problem can be resolved only within the framework of a durable and just settlement of the conflict, Vorontsov stressed. The USSR is going to follow this course in close cooperation with Arab countries, the PLO leadership, and along with maintaining permanent working contacts with European countries and the United States. "We are open to any initiatives on this subject and are going to put them forward ourselves," he said.

Vorontsov pointed out that the USSR was maintaining "very close contacts" with the United States on the Middle East settlement. Touching upon the Baker plan on the Middle East settlement, he described it as quite a good first step. "It is a good idea to bring both Palestinians and Israelis to the negotiating table, and we support it. However, it is just the beginning of a difficult road."

Questioned about the emigration of Soviet citizens, he said that a new laws, which will soon be adopted, will envisage both free emigration and a return of people to their native country, which corresponds to international standards. At the same time, he said that direct passenger Aeroflot routes to Israel will not open in the near future, because the USSR and Israel do not maintain interstate relations, and no corresponding agreements have been signed.

TASS Cites 'Arafat on Jewish Immigration

LD2303104390 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Algiers March 23 TASS—PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat denounced the settling of Soviet Jewish immigrants on the occupied Arab lands in an Algerian TV address. He called on the United Nations to help stop this process and impose strict controls.

'Arafat stressed that settlements on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip encourage the Israeli leadership to annex these territories.

The PLO chairman was pessimistic about the possibility of progress in the Middle East peace settlement, even if the Israeli Government crisis is overcome.

The establishment of peace in the region requires courageous decisions, but there is not a single politician among Israeli leaders who could take resolute measures, 'Arafat said.

Syrian, Iranian Discussion on Hostages Noted

NC2203170290 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 22 Mar 90

[From the "On the Waves of Radio Moscow" feature]

[Text] Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' ended his short visit to Tehran. The Syrian foreign minister held several rounds of talks with his Iranian counterpart and met with Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Majlis Speaker Mehdi Karrubi. One cannot say that the Iranian mass media did not comment on this visit in detail. It seems that the objective behind this visit was to prepare for Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad's upcoming visit to Iran.

The talks focused on the issue of foreign hostages in Lebanon. This issue adopted special importance recently, in view of recent reports from America on the possible death of one Iranian diplomat [as heard] who was taken hostage by Christian groups in Lebanon. Majlis deputies issued a statement warning America against hostile acts against Iranian citizens captured in Lebanon.

Arbatov Interviewed Before Departure for Kuwait

LD2203111890 Kuwait KUNA in English 0856 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (KUNA)—A high ranking Soviet academician highlighted that assessing the Palestinian interests in a "proper way is stil a big problem for policy makers in the United States."

Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Soviet Institute of United States and Canada, in an interview with Kuwait News Agency underlined that American politicians are still unable to have well understanding to the Palestinian liberation movement as well as the Palestinian people's interests. [as received]

American media as well as policy makers have made for a long time an "enemy" out of the Palestinian liberation movement and it has become rather difficult now to overcome this propaganda, Arbatov pointed out, adding: American specialists on the Middle East understand the Palestinian issue well enough but "the political elite" do not. American politicians are victims of their own propaganda, Arbatov reiterated.

Arbatov who is scheduled to begin Thursday a private visit to Kuwait stressed that the United States should work out "a new policy" toward hot regions which are pregnant with conflicts and crisis. They still have not worked out their policy for the post-cold war period, Arbatov added.

Arbatov said the Soviet Union was the first to start a "new thinking" for sometime while the the United States is just beginning. "Very often they act as if nothing has changed," Arbatov indicated, adding: "Things have changed in the Soviet Union as well as in the international arena." Therefore, the American policy toward all regional problems including the Middle East should be changed as well, Arbatov asserted.

Academician Arbatov pointed out that the Middle East crisis will become less than before "a problem of American-Soviet relations" since the cold war between Moscow and Washington is over and there is less "confrontation" between them. Arbatov, however, underlined that there are still "some obstacles" to genuine cooperation between the two superpowers on the Middle East problem. A mutual understanding to problems of the Middle East should be fulfilled in order to achieve peace in the region, said the Soviet expert.

Dwelling on Soviet Jews immigration to the Arab occupied lands, Arbatov expressed concern over "Israeli Government behaviour" in this regard refusing at the same time any reference to Soviet Jews immigration as one of the Soviet perestroika results. Arbatov reiterated his country's position to this issue by saying "we have now new regulaions regarding migration from the Soviet Union in accordance with international treaties on human rights," adding: The Soviet Union is "seriously concerned" over Israeli designs to settle Soviet Jews in the Arab occupied territories. One of the manifestations of these concerns was cancellation of direct flights of Soviet airlines Aeroflot to Israel, Arbatov pointed out.

Furthermore, Arbatov suggested improvement of standards of living in the Soviet Union on all levels as a measure to reduce Jews immigration. "If we could make people happy here there will be less migration," he added. Arbatov described future in Israel as "risky," adding, no one would like to leave for unknown future.

Commenting on U.S. stand toward Soviet immigrants, Arbatov said it is quite clear now that American and Western campaigns about human rights in the Soviet Union are nothing but "hypocrisy." He went on saying the United States does not offer privileges anymore to Soviet immigrants as it did in the past in addition to that it has imposed restriction on Jewish immigration to the United States especially from the USSR.

Arbatov reiterated his country's opposition to Soviet Jews settlement on "the Palestinian soil." "We are against even Israeli settlement in the Arab lands," he stressed.

Speaking on activities of the institute, Arbatov said the main goal of the institute was at the beginning to study the United States foreign policy but now there are many departments in the institute including one for the Middle East. Arbatov, founder of the institute in 1968, pointed out that many studies have been conducted in the department of the Middle East especially on American policy toward this region as well as American relations with countries of the region. Arbatov voiced hope to accomplish in the near future cooperation between his institute and Arab centres to conduct joint research on subjects of common concern.

Arbatov is a well-known expert in American affairs and one of the most close Soviet figures to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Kiselev-Led Group Leaves for Sri Lanka, Maldives

PM2003170190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, headed by G.N. Kiselev, chairman of the Commission for Consumer Goods, left Moscow 19 March for Sri Lanka and the Maldives on an official visit at the invitation of these states' parliaments.

Meets Sri Lankan President

LD2203104490 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1532 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Colombo, 21 Mar (TASS)—Ranasinghe Premadasa, president of Sri Lanka, today received a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by G.N. Kiselev, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal, Consumer, and Other Services to the Population. The Soviet delegation is in Sri Lanka on an official visit at the invitation of the country's parliament.

"We highly evaluate the peaceloving foreign policy course of the Soviet Union, which is based on the principles of new political thinking. It is important that M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR, is in favor of affirming these principles not in words but in deed. This is a good example for the leaders of other states," Ranasinghe Premadasa stated. He expressed satisfaction that the Soviet leadership attaches major significance to the improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States, which is having a positive influence on the global situation.

As a result of the deep socioeconomic transformations being implemented in the USSR, favorable prospects are being created for the expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation between our countries in all spheres, the president of Sri Lanka stressed. He asked the delegation to give to M.S. Gorbachev and the other Soviet leaders best wishes on his behalf.

"The USSR and Sri Lanka are geographically remote from each other. They have differences in (their) social system and in the specific features of historical development and cultural traditions. However, that cannot be an obstacle for the development of bilateral relations if they are founded on goodwill," the leader of the Soviet delegation said. Our country, he noted, is attentive to the activity of the government of Sri Lanka in settling the ethnic conflict in the country by peaceful means.

The same day, the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation had meetings with D.B. Wijetunge, prime minister of Sri Lanka; A.R. Mansoor, minister of trade and shipping; and leading representatives of the country's business circles. Yu. M. Kotov, USSR ambassador to Sri Lanka, attended these meetings.

The Soviet parliamentarians also visited the free economic zone in the suburbs of Colombo and the exhibition of Sri Lankan industrial goods in the capital's Hilton Hotel.

Niyazov-Led Delegation Arrives in N. Yemen

PM2203132590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On an Official Visit"]

[Text] Sanaa, 21 Mar—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by S.A. Niyazov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, arrived here today on an official visit at the invitation of the Yemen Arab Republic's Legislative Council (parliament).

Sub-Saharan Africa

Reportage on Shevardnadze's Africa Trip

Further on Talks With ANC Leaders

PM2203112590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline "Conversations, Talks. E.A. Shevardnadze's Visit to Africa"]

[Text] Lusaka, 21 Mar—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is in Zambia, has met leaders of the South African African National Congress [ANC] at its Lusaka headquarters.

There was a detailed discussion on domestic and foreign aspects of the situation in South Africa in the light of the qualitatively new political situation emerging there. Having affirmed its invariable solidarity with the struggle against apartheid, the Soviet side highly appraised the ANC's decision to establish political contacts with the RSA [Republic of South Africa] Government, which has boosted the organization's political prestige further still and has rendered virtually impossible any attempt to defend the inhuman regime before the world public. At the current, decisive stage of the struggle to create a democratic state in South Africa it is necessary—with a view to promoting the political process—to fully activate the existing international mechanisms and above all the potential of the United Nations and its secretary general, whose stand on apartheid is universally known. Special importance is attached to the unity of anti-apartheid forces within the RSA itself.

The ANC side expressed the wish that the topic of South Africa should be constantly in the field of vision at Soviet-U.S. contacts, which have proved effective in settling a series of conflict situations and solving complex political problems. E.A. Shevardnadze assured that this question occupies the position it deserves on the Soviet-U.S. diplomatic agenda. The exchange of opinions which took place—as the sides noted with gratification—convincingly reaffirmed that relations between the Soviet Union and the ANC are based on the lasting foundation of full mutual understanding and that a promising future lies ahead for them.

The following took part in the meeting on the ANC side: A. Nzo, the organization's general secretary; T. Nkobi, ANC national treasurer; J. Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party; T. Mbeki, chief of the ANC International Department; J. Nkadimeng, general secretary of the South African Trades Union Congress; and other members of the ANC leadership.

Meets Singh, Genscher in Windhoek

PM2303102990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Mar 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Stay in Namibia"]

[Text] Windhoek 22 March—E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, on a visit to Namibia, had a meeting today with the president of the South-West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) and president of the Republic of Namibia, S. Nujoma. E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed to him a message from M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR, which on behalf of the Soviet people expresses sincere congratulations on the declaration of Namibian independence.

Expressing thanks for the message and sending M.S. Gorbachev best wishes, S. Nujoma gave an assurance that Namibia would never forget the material, political, and diplomatic support which the USSR gave its people during the long period of the struggle for independence.

E.A. Shevardnadze stated that the USSR recognized independent Namibia and was ready to establish diplomatic relations with it.

In the presence of the president of Namibia, E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and T.B. Gurirab, Namibian foreign minister, signed a communique on establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and Namibia as of 21 March 1990.

E.A. Shevardnadze held talks with the Indian prime minister, V.P. Singh, the first direct contact with the head of the new Indian Government on a political level. Greetings and best wishes from M.S. Gorbachev were handed over to V.P. Singh. The prime minister warmly recalled his telephone conversation with the Soviet president. V.P. Singh said: We all admire the bold restructuring initiatives undertaken by M.S. Gorbachev in foreign policy and at home. We wish him success. After all, his activities are not just directed toward the present and his own country, but to all mankind and to history. Confusion is inevitable in any process of change. It should not be overdramatized, but be regarded as something inevitable in making the transition from one condition to another. We are convinced that the Soviet Union will cope with its present difficulties.

In their discussion of Soviet-Indian relations, E.A. Shevardnadze and V.P. Singh confirmed the priority given by their governments to the further development of ties and diverse cooperation between the two countries on the basis of long-standing traditions, rooted in the inner aspirations of friendly peoples.

Cooperation between the USSR and India in the international arena, where their views virtually coincide, was viewed as being exemplary in essence. In recent years important steps have been taken toward the creation of a nonviolent, nuclear-free world; the goal proclaimed by the Delhi Declaration.

The need for a constant, fruitful Soviet-Indian dialogue at various levels, including high levels, was stressed.

E.A. Shevardnadze's conversation with FRG foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher developed into a free exchange of reflections on the various facets of the external aspect of the building of German unity.

Emphasis was laid on the need to take careful account of a large number of factors and intersecting interests and examine all possible solutions, even those which at first sight seem unexpected. This also applies to the problem of the military-political status of a united Germany. E.A. Shevardnadze touched on the question of the desirability of working toward the signing of a peace treaty which would finally settle the whole range of post-war problems. Hans-Dietrich Genscher commented that this would be too difficult a task, and one that would be out of keeping with the spirit of the times. As he sees it, one ought to concentrate pragmatically on finally resolving the issues which need to be resolved. A peace treaty is one of the topics the discussion of which will be continued.

Much attention was paid to intensification of the general European process and the creation of new security structures in the continent. There was a considerable degree of agreement between the ideas expressed on the two sides regarding the setting up in Europe of a center to ensure security and settle and avert situations of conflict.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed satisfaction over the fact that the recent elections in the GDR passed in an organized way, without any excesses. E.A. Shevardnadze stated the Soviet Union's respect for the choice of the GDR people, as well as its readiness to cooperate with the government that would be formed.

Soon after the formation of a new GDR Government, probably in the second half of April, the first "two plus four" meeting at foreign minister level could take place. It is for the experts to work out an appropriate agenda.

E.A. Shevardnadze and Hans-Dietrich Genscher agreed to continue the closest contacts for energetic consultations on the problems of building German unity.

The conversation also touched on the situation in southern Africa. It was noted that Namibia's example should assist the advance toward a settlement in Angola, Mozambique, and the Republic of South Africa. The African countries that, in earlier times, suffered frequently from confrontation, should now benefit from the fruits of the new atmosphere in East-West relations.

Today E.A. Shevardnadze left Windhoek for Maputo.

On the same day E.A. Shevardnadze arrived in the capital of Mozambique. At the airpot he was met by P. Mocumbi, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and other officials.

Interviewed on Namibia Visit

LD2203205290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Namibia by special correspondent V. Lobachenko]

[Text] The visit to Windhoek by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze ended today with the signing of a communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Namibia. [video shows flags at an airport; then Shevardnadze signing documents]

He attended the ceremony of the proclamation of Namibian independence. There was also a meeting between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Sam Nujoma, the president of Namibia. The Namibian president was handed a personal message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [video shows Shevardnadze, Nujoma talking]

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze also met eminent statesmen and politicians who had come to Windhoek in connection with Independence Day. [video shows Shevardnadze talking to Genscher]

At the end of his stay in Windhoek, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze answered questions from Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] and APN correspondents: [video shows him talking to correspondents]

[Begin recording] [Shevardnadze] Well, the last bastion, if one may so put it, of colonialism in Africa has collapsed—a truly historic and very great event. That's the conclusion I come to. Namibia... The establishment of Namibia's independence, is a very important fact, but it is a factor that opens up good prospects for a settlement in Angola, and for a settlement, an internal settlement, in Mozambique. And the most important thing, I think, is that, against this background, very interesting processes are beginning in the Republic of South Africa—a process of negotiation between the government and opposition forces, including our old friends, the African National Congress. The process of negotiation starts on 11 April. I have the impression that the talks will, admittedly, be difficult, but there are good prospects. [video shows Shevardnadze talking to correspondents]

[Lobachenko] Before the independence of Namibia, international economic sanctions were operating against it. Since 21 March the situation has changed drastically.

[Shevardnadze to correspondent on the tarmac] One may consider that there are no sanctions. [video shows camera crews at work in airport locale; final shot of flags at airport] [end recording]

Welcomed in Zimbabwe

LD2203231190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2135 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Harare, 23 March. (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, the USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrived here on Thursday evening for a working visit in the course of his trip to African countries. He had already visited Angola, Zambia, Namibia, and Mozambique. From Zimbabwe he will fly to Tanzania and then to Nigeria.

A central event of E.A. Shevardnadze's trip was his participation in the celebrations to mark the proclamation of Namibia's independence. During his stay in Windhoek a joint Soviet-Namibian communique was signed on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

At the international airport in the Zimbabwean capital the Soviet guest was welcomed by Nathan Shamuyarira, the republic's foreign minister, and other officials. The program for the visit envisages talks with the country's top leaders, President Robert Mugabe and Nathan Shamuyarira, the head of the foreign policy department.

In addressing journalists on his arrival, E.A. Shevardnadze said in particular: "This is my first visit to the land of the wonderful country of Zimbabwe, and I would like to cordially greet its people and leaders and also express the hope that the present visit will help to strengthen the traditional friendship and cooperation between our states."

I know that an important date awaits the people of Zimbabwe very soon—the 10th anniversary of the declaration of independence. And as your friends, we shall also be celebrating that event. The purpose of this visit, noted the minister, is to hold talks with the minister of foreign affairs, Shamuyarira. A conversation is also planned with the country's president, Mugabe, to discuss a wide range of issues, above all, the situation in the region and other international problems, as well as bilateral relations.

Asked what the USSR could do to achieve peace in southern Africa, the minister noted that the Soviet Union is making great efforts to achieve that aim. The Soviet Union's participation in that "historic event"—the festivities to mark Namibia's declaration of independence—was no coincidence, since it had done a very great deal to bring about the dream of the Namibian people.

The minister voiced the opinion that there are now good preconditions for establishing national peace in Angola and in Mozambique, and that the process of "dismantling" apartheid has begun in South Africa. The Soviet Union, noted E.A.Shevardnadze, will take all the necessary measures to "further this process" and for positive transformations in the region.

In commenting on the nature of the changes now taking place in Europe and on their consequences for the situation on the African Continent, the minister said that regular consultations are being held on this subject. On the eve of his trip to Africa he had a meeting in Prague with the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact Organization. On Thursday in Windhoek he had a two-hour conversation with the FRG's foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher. At those meetings they examined very thoroughly the situation in Europe, in particular the problem of German unification, and also of issues connected with "expanding the current all-European process."

Talks With Mugabe

LD2303133790 Moscow TASS in English 1312 GMT 23 Mar 90

[By special correspondents Sergey Nikishov, Yuriy Pichugin and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harare, March 23 (TASS)—President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met in the town of Kadoma, 150 kilometers southwest of the capital Harare, today.

They discussed a broad range of issues, chiefly the situation in southern Africa, international affairs and bilateral relations.

On his way back to Harare, the Soviet minister visited a memorial to patriots who perished fighting for the country's independence and laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier.

Zimbabwe is the fifth country Shevardnadze has visited so far on his nine-day African tour. The minister has aleady visited Angola, Zambia, Namibia, where he attended independence celebrations, and Mozambique.

On Saturday, Shevardnadze will leave for Tanzania and then fly on to Nigeria.

East Europe

Akhromeyev Intrerviewed on German Reunification

AU2203185790 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Mar 90 p 7

[NOVOSTI interview 'specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' with Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, by Vladimir Ostrovsky; place and date not given: "We Cannot Agree to an Imbalance of Forces"]

[Text] A NOVOSTI journalist talked with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev on the military aspects of German reunification.

[Ostrovsky] From the West's point of view Germany ought to stay in NATO. What do you think?

[Akhromeyev] I think that a reunified Germany cannot belong to any military bloc—not to NATO, not to the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union is against the inclusion of a reunified Germany in NATO, because it does not see why the Soviet Union should do anything which strengthens a military alliance of states that still regard the Soviet Union as a potential adversary. There are many alternative solutions which could resolve the problem. A united Germany could become neutral. The Soviet Union proposed such an alternative immediately after World War II. From 1945 to 1957, the Soviet Union was favorably disposed to the creation of a unified, neutral, and democratic Germany.

The following solution may also be possible. A reunited Germany could join another organization, an organization that is not aimed against the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, France, or any other European state. I suspect that we shall have to look for a similar solution.

[Ostrovsky] What is your response to the FRG's nebulous proposition that after reunification, NATO forces would not be allowed to be stationed on the territory of the GDR?

[Akhromeyev] A guarantee that NATO troops would not be allowed to enter GDR territory after reunifica?ion, whether it is given by the FRG, the United States, or any other state, is not acceptable to us. First, it is merely a promise. Second, even if all NATO states were to join in making such a declaration, the declaration would not be an effective guarantee for us.

One has to underscore that there is much to be learned from historical experience. The Treaty of Versailles created a demilitarized Rhineland (from the Belgian and French borders to the Rhine). Nevertheless, in 1936 Hitler's Germany broke its promises and re-entered the Rhineland. We all know what happened after that.... I cannot imagine that such a promise by the FRG could for one moment form the basis of the Soviet Union's security. One should not forget that U.S. nuclear tactical weapons are deployed throughout the territory of the FRG. These weapons will not disappear overnight upon reunification. Here is another problem that needs to be solved. Even if we take the demilitarization of the GDR as a starting point, these weapons will still remain in the FRG. Thus, the proposal is not acceptable to us.

[Ostrovsky] Do you think that it might be useful, given the present international situation, if the two military blocs were to abandon their military aspects and transform themselves into political organizations? According to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, U.S. troops stationed in Europe are still regarded as guarantors of the West's security and a factor of stability in this region. Perhaps the USSR should decide on a unilateral dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and thus, by such a move, make the stationing of U.S. troops in Europe unnecessary.

[Akhromeyev] I think that we have heard enough voices counselling us that we should unilaterally dismantle this or that. I am convinced that such a move would not be advantageous for our security, or even general security. It is usually the case that a good idea is more effective when it is put into effect by both sides, especially when it involves the security of states. With this aim in mind, there ought to be bilateral reductions of armed forces, armaments, and a reduction of military budgets. If this is carried out the security of both sides will be guaranteed.

The following alternative could also have the desired effect, namely, by reducing the role of the military in both blocs we will also be enhancing security. However, NATO cannot seem to decide on this, although we have been urging them to consider the possibility of transforming both blocs for some time now. At present, NATO does not even want to change its military doctrine, let alone take more radical measures. The Soviet Union had repeatedly shown its goodwill by assuming many unilateral obligations in order to get the talks moving again. I think that it is now up to the West. I have great hope in the Vienna negotiations. Their results should make a noticeable difference to security in Europe.

[Ostrovsky] Are you not worried by the fact that modernization of U.S. strategic weapons is still progressing? Not one of the systems projected in the days of President Carter has been withdrawn from production. The only reductions are of those weapons which for all practical purposes have little influence on the reduction of the potential for a nuclear first strike....

[Akhromeyev] I do not agree with the contention that a future treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons will only have a limited effect on the strategic potential of both sides. Surely, a 30-50 percent reduction in strategic weapons which include land-based weapons and strategic bombers is a very significant step that is bound to reduce tension and increase security.

If we look at the development of strategic strike weapons, then in reality all the types of U.S. strategic systems that were elaborated in the last few years have been put into production. At the same time pressure is being put on the Soviet Union not to modernize its strategic weapons. Why should we not modernize, if the United States is doing so? We have never given any commitments to anybody that we will only keep outdated strike weapons. The Soviet Union has honored all its agreements that refer to these types of arms. The accusations leveled at us by the United States are unfounded.

I would like to raise the matter of Cruise sea-based and air-launched missiles. If these types of weapons are not reduced then the armament reductions treaty will not be signed. This is the USSR's position. The sides taking part in the Geneva negotiations are fully aware of this. A treaty on the reduction of strategic weapons will only be signed if it "satisfies" both the USSR and the United States.

Soviet Troops 'Best Guarantee' of Polish Security

PM2203132190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Excerpt] A meeting took place 21 March between A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and A. Stelmachowski, marshal of the Republic of Poland Senate, who is in the Soviet Union at the USSR Supreme Soviet's invitation.

During a friendly and frank conversation, A.I. Lukyanov briefed the visitor on the current stage of perestroyka in our country, the results of the work by the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the election of president of the USSR, and the Supreme Soviet's activity.

A. Stelmachowski noted that people in Poland are following with great attention the Soviet leadership's practical pursuit of the course of renewal in all spheres of society's life. He spoke about the activity of the Republic of Poland Senate in the conditions of profound structural changes in Poland.

Both sides expressed gratification with the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Poland at the present stage, emphasized the importance of preserving everything that is valuable and mutually beneficial in the accumulated experience of bilateral Soviet-Polish cooperation, and affirmed the desire to strengthen ties along parliamentary lines and to collaborate in the political, economic, and cultural spheres in a spirit of equality and good-neighborliness.

Much attention was given to the process of rapprochement between the FRG and the GDR during the exchange of opinions on key international problems. Outlining the Soviet Union's principled stance on this question, A.I. Lukyanov noted in particular the need to solve the task of synchronizing the rapprochement and possible unification of the two German states with the all-European process, the importance of enshrining existing borders in international law and ensuring reliable security for neighboring and all other states. A. Stelmachowski agreed with this approach. In this context, there was an expression of intent to continue the dialogue in the future.

I must admit that I was somewhat worried in anticipation of the talks I had, but now I can say with relief that the talks were not only held in an atmosphere of understanding but were also perfectly friendly, A. Stelmachowski declared at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists held in Moscow the same day. We spoke about problems which are vitally important for both our countries, he said, commenting the results of his meetings.

Replying to a TASS correspondent's question about his appraisal of the Soviet stand regarding the possible future military-political status of a united Germany, the marshal of the Republic of Poland Senate emphasized that the two countries' goals on this question are identical. The fundamental European equilibrium must not be disrupted, and Poland's borders must remain inviolable. There are, however, certain differences in tactical approaches, especially on the question of the future Germany's neutral status.

Specifically, the Soviet side believes that a certain neutralization of the German state must occur. On the other hand, the Polish Senate leader said, we have fears that a united Germany not belonging to any international alliance could pose a potential danger.

The FRG Army is already a sizeable combat force. We believe, the Polish parliamentarian declared, that NATO forces should not cross the Elbe River. This fully applies also to the German Army. There can be no doubt that, for some more time to come, the Soviet forces based on the GDR border territory would be the best guarantee of how the process of Germany's unification would proceed, the Polish representative declared. [passage omitted]

First Soviet Aircraft Leave Hungary

PM2203093190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Borovkov: "Homeward Bound"]

[Text] Fulfilling the bilateral intergovernmental agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory, the Soviet command is continuing the scheduled redeployment of its units and subunits to the motherland. Yesterday, 20 March, the first flight of MiG-23 fighters headed east from the military airfield in the Hungarian city of Debrecen.

This action started the withdrawal of Air Force units from the territory of the Hungarian Republic. The Air Force unit stationed in Debrecen will return to the Soviet Union by the end of May. The city's inhabitants and local authority representatives were invited to a meeting to mark the departure of the first Soviet fighters.

After a few laconic words of farewell were spoken, four MiG's soared into the sky one after the other. Flight commander Major V. Kononov has taken his subordinates up into the air many times. Today he did it here for the last time. They headed for the motherland.

West Europe

Turkish President Greets Gorbachev on Election

PM2303100590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Undated message from Turkish president Turgut Ozal to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev]

[Text] I congratulate you on your election as president of the USSR and wish you success with all my heart.

In this connection, I note with satisfaction the process taking place in recent years in Turkish-USSR relations; and I would like to stress the significance we both attach to the further development and strengthening of good-neighborliness and cooperation between our countries in the framework of the principles of autonomy, sovereignty, and respect for territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit. I believe that relations of trust contribute to detente both in our area, and in Europe and worldwide.

I would also like to express my belief in the fact that the policy of new thinking carried out by the USSR under your leadership and its concrete results in the international arena will promote the further strengthening of peace throughout the world and that the principles of glasnost, perestroyka, democratization, respect for human rights, and freedom of conscience in the period of your presidency, which you put into practice in your country in the framework of contemporary international policy, will develop further and promote the prosperity and development of the peoples of your country and their peaceful cooperation.

Once again, expressing my confidence that the significant progress in the relations of good-neighborliness and friendship that exist between our countries that has been achieved in the period of your leadership of the Soviet Union will develop further through our joint efforts, I send best wishes for health and happiness to you personally and for prosperity and successes to the peoples of the USSR.

[Signed] Turgut Ozal, president of Turkey

Official Representatives Exchanged With Vatican

PM2203092190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 90 p 3

[Dispatch by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent: "Emissary of Holy See: USSR and Vatican Exchange Official Representatives"]

[Excerpt] Rome—This decision was announced the other day at the press center of the Holy See: A USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary will represent us at the Vatican, while a papal nuncio will go to Moscow. The aim of this move is to lend an official character to contacts between our states.

Let us make it immediately clear that we cannot yet be considered to have established diplomatic relations with the Vatican—that level is still in the future. But it is difficult to overestimate the significance of the event: Permanent dialogue will be set up between our countries. The Soviet representative has not yet been named, but the first papal emissary will be Monsignor Francesco Colasuonno, who is considered a specialist in the countries of East Europe and has long experience of Vatican diplomacy. The present nuncio in the USSR will clearly study the problems of Catholic communities in Central Asia, the Ukraine, and other regions of our country. According to approximate figures, there are around 12 million Catholics in the USSR, of whom 5 million practice the Greek Orthodox rite, that is, they belong to the Uniate Church.

Western observers estimate that in the last 10 years the Vatican has established diplomatic relations with 27 countries, to which another seven East European states will soon be added. It is the absence of proper—in the Vatican's opinion—religious freedoms in a country, a government's unfair treatment of individual Catholic communities (the Uniate Church in the case of the Soviet Union), and also a reluctance on the part of local authorities to recognize the pope's right to appoint hierarchs on the sovereign territory of the state which usually serve to obstruct the establishment of official ties. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Session

Moscow TV Carries Supreme Soviet Debates

Soviet of Nationalities

LD2203224690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 22 March begins carrying a recorded relay of the Soviet of Nationalities session held in the Kremlin in Moscow on 21 March. The session is chaired and opened by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities. He announces that the session will continue discussion begun yesterday of a bill on renewal of the union treaty. Deputy Larionov is the first to speak. After analyzing the concept of sovereignty, he says that in this regard the draft is inadequate. He says that the autonomous republics would not be given sufficient rights, and goes on to complain about a sense of uncertainty.

At 1905 GMT Deputy Palagnyuk continues discussion of the union treaty, and points out that the homeland is being denigrated. He says that the USSR is not an occupation force, and goes on to recall wartime brotherhood in arms.

At 1907 GMT Deputy Levakin calls for creative toil, and expresses his agreement with the draft.

At 1910 GMT Deputy Safarov speaks about unemployment in Central Asia, and at 1914 Deputy Yetelyen speaks on classification of autonomous regions. He says the small ethnic groups are disappearing, and there are complaints of inequality. He says that the Soviet of Nationalities needs the best people as members, and calls for a referendum.

At 1917 GMT Deputy Pupkevich says there is too much discord and fear, as is shown by events in Lithuania.

At 1922 GMT Deputy Kostishin draws a parallel with divorce, and stresses the need for interdependence. Touching on economic relations, he urges restrictions to balance union and local interests.

At 1925 GMT Deputy Advadze asks who is leaving the family, and says the breaking-up process must be halted. Nishanov intervenes to call for constructive contributions from deputies.

At 1928 GMT Deputy Pilnikov speaks in favor of the draft, but suggests changing its title. he goes on to discuss the wording of certain paragraphs.

At 1930 GMT Deputy Mamedov also comments on what the bill should be called.

At 1932 GMT Deputy Chernyak says the bill does not change the essential nature of the federation, and that it does not give republics true sovereignty.

at 1936 GMT Nishanov puts the bill to a vote: Voting is 152 in favor, 23 against, with six abstentions.

At 1939 GMT the afternoon session is relayed, with deputies discussing a draft bill on demarcations of powers between the USSR and the union republics. Discussion opens with a report by Deputy Bisher. He says that peaceful changes cannot be regarded as illegal, and calls for serious penalities for continued activity of banned organizations. He points out that contradictions remain between articles one and two, and goes on to draw distinctions between disbanding and forbidding organizations. He speaks in detail about the status of refugees, which, he says, is internationally recognized.

At 1948 GMT Deputy Kalmykov comments on varieties of illegal actions to be dealt with by higher courts.

At 1954 GMT Nishanov calls for a vote on the first reading of the bill: Voting is 172 in favor, four against, and two absentions. After clarifying a deputy's question, Nishanov says that the bill will be presented to the supreme soviets of the union republics.

At 1955 GMT the recorded relay of the Soviet of Nationalities session ends, and a recorded relay of the Soviet of the Union session begins.

Soviet of the Union

LD2203231490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1955 GMT on 22 March begins carrying a recorded relay of the Soviet of the Union session held in the Kremlin in Moscow on 21 march. Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union opens the session, after registering the deputies. He then announces there will be discussion of a draft bill on renewing the union treaty and delimiting powers of the USSR and the republics.

At 1957 GMT Deputy Lubenchenko is called to the floor to deliver a report on the bill. He first explains the Legislative Committee's views on the bill, and goes on to say that the bill is not a new union treaty, but a step toward it. A union treaty needs several provisions not covered in the draft. He points out that the bill deals with a federative state, as distinct from a confederation, built on the basis of equal rights. The federal state is an organic whole worth more than a mechanical accumulation of its parts. Absolute sovereignty is not an option, for world development is moving toward structures which respect the rights of all peoples. Moving on to the title of the bill, Lubenchenko proposes dropping the reference to renewing the union treaty. On delimiting the powers of the center, union republics, and other formations, he proposes laying down a list of unions and joint powers, with the rest understood as republican responsibilities. In conclusion he says that The bill is not the ultimate truth, but it is an important act. He commends it to the house.

At 2009 GMT Primakov calls Tarazevich to speak for the Nationalities Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities. Tarazevich summarizes today's deliberations in his chamber on the bill's title. His commission is against changing it, he notes, but the chamber decided to phrase it: "Delimitation of powers of union and republics as the basis of a union treaty." He outlines articles listing the powers of the center and joint powers. There is a provision for the center to conclude agreements with each republic individually, so the joint powers could differ from republic to republic, he points out.

At 2016 GMT Primakov informs deputies that professors Krylov and Sobakin are present and available for questions. He opens the debate on the bill, offering the floor to Deputy Sazonov, who briefly gives his views on the bill.

At 2018 GMT Deputy Shcherbak, a member of the Ecology Committee, criticizes the old unitarist approaches he perceives in the bill as it is presented. He cites articles where, he says, central control is made even wider than in the 1922 union treaty. The center should pursue a more flexible policy, and he makes a number of proposals designed to seek a consensus.

At 2023 GMT Deputy Amanova describes the bill as very important and praises the changes made to the original by Lubenchenko and Tarazevich. She makes observations on several individual articles and urges support for the bill, but with further work to be done on it by the republics.

At 2028 GMT Deputy Mokanu says the bill is a means of guaranteeing the transition to a new form of relations between the center and the republics. The presidential system also necessitates a review of such relations. He calls for elimination of contradictions between articles forbidding changes in a republic's borders without its agreement, and allowing the formation of autonomous republics.

At 2033 GMT Deputy Suleymenov dwells on the reasons for considering a law rather than a new treaty at this stage, and proposes a wording providing for republics independent of each other but dependent on the center, where republics can conclude agreements with each other. Moving on to autonomous formations, he urges changes to make the word autonomous mean what it says.

At 2040 GMT Deputy Bushuyev says that a bill defining the powers of the center and the republics is long overdue. This law should be a stage in the preparation of a new union treaty, not a substitute for it, he contends. The new treaty, he says, should provide for the rights of the union as a whole, combining rights and obligations for all sides.

Union Treaty Bill Discussed

LD2203233990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2044 GMT continues its recorded relay of the Soviet of the Union session in the Kremlin with Deputy Borodin calling for a clear definition of whether there is to be a union state or a union of states. He goes on to dwell on health care as a sphere for which the whole country should be responsible.

At 2046 GMT Deputy Sobchak supports a clear elucidation of central, joint, and republican powers, a principle which he says is essential in a union state. He criticizes the reference to renewal of the union treaty in the bill's title, proposing that the word renewal be dropped. He calls for a provision allowing for central and joint powers to be changed by a future union treaty or agreements with republics, in a union of equal but diverse republics. He agrees with Borodin on the status of the health service, and adds education to that category: An Uzbek, say, should have the right to come to Moscow for treatment or study, he asserts.

At 2058 GMT Deputy Voskoboynikov promises to keep his speech short, and echoes Borodin's call for clarity on a union state or a union of states. A federation presupposes equal rights for all, he says.

At 2102 GMT Deputy Kalmykov comments on two types of sovereignty—the absolute sovereignty of an independent country and the relative sovereignty of a republic in a federal state. There are fields, such as foreign and security policy, which have to be under central control, he says. Giving each republic the right to set up embassies abroad would sow confusion, he claims.

At 2106 GMT Deputy Kim supports the views of Borodin and Kalmykov that the law should deal with a federal state, not a confederation. He also shares the opinion that this law should be a step on the way to a new union treaty.

At 2110 GMT Deputy Gritsenko, chairman of the Social Protection Commission, supports the draft as proposed, and calls for guarantees of such rights as the right to work, leisure, a health service, and others, in whichever republic he might be.

At 2113 GMT Deputy Shekhovtsov says that it is not enough to define the powers of the center and the republics, and proposes an amendment giving autonomous formations and local authorities the right to govern their own economic affairs. The chamber should follow the other chamber's example and pass the bill, he states.

At 2116 GMT Deputy Ivanov describes autonomous republics as a great achievement of socialism, and calls for a clear definition of what is meant by the union.

At 2119 GMT Deputy Chernyak stresses that the present bill is not a union treaty, which can only be approved by all the republics. He praises the Soviet of Nationalities' decision to pass the bill for consideration by republican supreme soviets. The center should be strengthened, but not at the expense of the republics, he says, with the federation being constructed from the bottom.

At 2123 GMT Deputy Yudin dwells on the need to guarantee the social protection of all peoples, and expresses concern that those who do not have their own national area, or live outside it, will be overlooked. He urges consideration of this problem.

At 2128 GMT Deputy Primakov offers the floor to Tarazevich, who explains the commission's decision on the wording of the title: "On delimitation of powers of the union and the republics."

At 2130 GMT Primakov declares the debate closed, and observes that nobody has actually spoken against the bill. He calls for a vote on the following: To adopt the bill on first reading, and for the legislative committee to conduct further work on the bill. First, he says, there is a vote on an amendment concerning the wording of the title: On delimiting powers of the USSR and subjects of the federation, as the basis of a union treaty. A vote is taken: Voting is 117 in favor, 69 against, 17 abstentions. The amendment is not adopted.

At 2134 GMT Primakov calls for a vote on the wording as proposed by the Legislative Committee, that is, without a reference to renewal of the union treaty. Voting is 160 in favor, 31 against, 12 abstentions. The amendment is declared adopted.

At 2136 GMT Primakov calls for a vote on the proposal to adopt the bill on its first reading and to pass it to the Legislative Committee for further work. Voting is 174 in favor, 20 against, seven abstentions. The decision is declared adopted.

At 2137, Primakov announces the next session of the chamber will be tomorrow at 1000 [0700 GMT] to discuss the bill on general principles for management of the economy and the social sphere in union and autonomous republics. An unidentified female voice, off screen, makes a few other procedural announcements. Primakov reminds deputies of their decision yesterday to propose to the Soviet of Nationalities that a delegation be dispatched to Lithuania, and says that this proposal will be passed on.

At 2139 GMT Primakov declares the session closed, and the recorded relay ends.

Supreme Soviet Diary Program Discussed

LD2203230490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1630 GMT on 22 March broadcasts a 27-minute "Supreme Soviet Diary" program presented by commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy. The program begins with Ruvinskiy noting that the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union met in separate sessions today. He goes on to describe the proceedings in the Soviet of Nationalities, which today continued its discussion of the bills on the renewal of the union treaty and on the demarcation of powers between the USSR and the union republics. Today the debate was opened by Deputy Larionov, Ruvinskiy says and goes on to play a recording of Larionov's speech in which he says that it is clear from the deputies' speeches that if there was any concept at all behind the drafting of this bill that it was one that stems mainly from the striving to preserve the unitary centrist system and the powers of the union and the republics in the new union treaty. Larionov then asks a few questions about the nature of the union federation.

A recording of the speech by Deputy Kugultinov is played in which Kugultinov makes a proposal to welcome the liberation of Namibia from the colonial yoke, something which receives slight applause. Deputy Levakin says that it is evidently necessary to ask oneself the question whether or not this law is needed by us. If the deputies think it is not needed they should inform the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Relations between Nationalities of their views so that they can be incorporated. We do need just criticism of the bill, he says, but a constructive approach. Deputy (Putkevich) analyzed the views expressed during the discussion of this matter, observing that a small group of deputies opposed strong federal unions and tried to sow dissension and fear as exemplified by the events which have taken place in Lithuania.

Ruvinskiy then goes on to say that the debates lasted over an hour. A large number of deputies spoke during this time and it was decided to put the question to the vote, he says. This revealed that there was no quorum present and so it was decided to return to the vote later.

After a short break the discussion started of another bill: On increasing liability for infringement of citizens' national equality and forcible violation of the territorial unity of the USSR. Ruvinskiy says this bill was submitted for discussion in the second reading and there were even proposals to adopt it without discussion. However, many deputies spoke nevertheless.

Ruvinskiy then plays a recording of the speech by Deputy Bisher. He says that recently certain movements have appeared which insist on solutions reached by force, which have started preaching the superiority of their nations over other nations, and have started speaking of the inequality of nations, extolling some nations or races above others. Unfortunately, he says, this has become fairly widespread at present time. There are groups, he says, which are not satisfied with the economic, social, and other situations which have arisen in the USSR and are looking for a way out of this situation through looking for the image of an enemy, which is a fascist principle of long standing: Individual nations and ethnic groups are made scapegoats for all troubles existing in the state: Meshkhetian Turks, Sumgait, Baku, and other places. Bisher says it is evidently necessary to take the appropriate legal measures in order not to allow such phenomena to occur and even to nip them in the bud.

Ruvinskiy notes that Bisher also spoke about the problem of refugees and its correct solution. Bisher recalled that at the First Congress of People's Deputies a group of lawyers drew up a draft law on the republics' responsibility for damage by citizens of individual nationalities in the cases of pogroms taking place on their territory. This bill was submitted and was sent to a number of ministries, including the finance ministry, where it got lost somewhere: The republics responsible should pay up. As for the status of the refugees, their rights should be reliably defended.

Ruvinskiy then plays a recording of the speech by Deputy Obolenskiy who calls for a distinction to be made between perpetrators of progroms and dissidents. The latter should not be persecuted. Deputy Ignatovich speaks about individual articles in the bill, including liability for the creation and the activities of unregistered citizens' association.

Ruvinskiy then goes on to say that this bill was adopted and that amendments and addendums to it will be proposed to the Supreme Soviet in the near future. At the end of its sitting the Soviet of Nationalities also voted on the bill which was discussed yesterday and earlier today. But it was formulated in a slightly different way: On the demarcation of powers between the USSR and subjects of the federation as the basis of a union treaty. This was the name arrived at by the people's deputies. This bill was adopted in the first reading, he notes.

Lyudmila Semina then takes over the presentation of the "Supreme Soviet Diary" program to report on the proceedings of the Soviet of Nationalities. She begins by noting that Yevgeniy Primakov chaired the discussion of the bill on the renewal of the union treaty and of the wording proposed by the Soviet of Nationalities: on the demarcation of powers between the USSR and subjects of the federation as the basis of a union treaty.

A report was delivered by Lubenchenko, deputy chairman of the Committee for Legislation, Semina says, who spoke of the concept of the bill and of the remarks already expressed by the deputies, observing that the existing union treaty is not being abolished and that the bill is an expression of continuity in the development of union relations between the subjects of the federation. Lubenchenko notes that the bill incorporates the fact that we are building a federal state, after all, and not a confederal state, and this is being done on the basis of equality and sovereignty.

Semina goes on to note that Deputy Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Relations between Nationalities, told of how the discussion of the bill had progressed in the commission and in the Soviet of Nationalities. He noted that the most substantial remarks and proposals were about protection of the rights of autonomous republics. Tarazevich and Lubenchenko replied to many questions from their colleagues, Semina says. She then plays a recording of Deputy Smirnov asking lawyer Lubenchenko whether he does not see a patent legal contradiction between Article 1, Article 7, and Article 9. Lubenchenko replies that he does not see a legal contradiction but a factual contradiction.

Shcherbak, a deputy from the Ukraine, observes that the current union is like a boat which has sprung great leaks. What needs to be done now, he says, is to think about how this tragic situation can rectified. He describes the first draft of the union treaty as extremely unsuccessful, and says he finds it incomprehensible why it should be called a law. A detailed study of the text of the proposed law also offers little comfort, he claims. In the Ecology Committee the text was virtually entirely rewritten. The draft is unstructured. "Old unitarian approaches are being proposed to us with the real degree of political, international law, economic, social and ecological sovereignty of the republics, either not increasing at all—this is my subjective view—or increasing very insignificantly, compared with the 1922 union treaty and the latest real practice of its application," he says.

Mokanu, a deputy from Moldavia, says that the process of the redistribution of powers is proceeding painfully and with great difficulties—it could be said that it has only started. He dwells on Article 1 and observes that the introduction of the post of president in the power structure demands a rethinking of interrelations between the USSR president and the union republics. He says he favors a bill specifying the rights of the union republics.

Kazakh writer Olzhas Suleymenov expresses the pain felt by the peoples at the injustice of the unitarian system of the Soviet state which has come about historically. He calls for speeding up the dismantling of the state monopolism system which has already started.

Semina concludes her segment of the program by noting that during the discussion Deputy Sobchak attempted to introduce clarity and to offer precise legal formulations. The debate ended in the Soviet of the Union approving the bill in the first reading but with a title different from the one arrived at in the soviet of nationalities: "on the demarcation of the powers between the USSR and the union republics," Semina points out. Now a conciliation commission is to be set up in order to work out a final solution regarding the title. Tomorrow there will again be a separate sitting of the Soviet of the Union and of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Committees To Discuss Federation Bill

LD2303093890 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities—at separate sittings today continue the discussion of bills establishing new legal principles for the Soviet Federation.

The Council of the Union has begun to consider a bill on the foundations of economic relations between the

USSR and constituent and autonomous republics. The Council of Nationalities passed the bill in the first reading in late February.

On Thursday, both chambers passed a bill on the delineation of powers between the union and the constituent republics. The bill establishes the range of the union's competence and gives republics the right to independently settle all issues connected with their economic and social development.

The Council of Nationalities, which will meet this afternoon, will consider, in the first reading, a bill on the settlement of issues related to the withdrawal of a constituent republic from the USSR. The Council of the Union approved the bill two days ago.

Supreme Soviet Councils Discuss Federation

LD2203114690 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 22 Mar 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities today continued to discuss, in separate meetings, the first reading of the bill on the renewal of the union treaty and the division of authority between the union and the republics.

The Council of the Union adopted on Wednesday the first reading of the Law on Procedures for the Secession of a Union Republic from the USSR and assigned parliamentary committees to finish it, taking into account the suggestions made during the discussion, and submit it to the Council of Nationalities.

According to the law, secession procedures include a referendum and a transitional period of no less than five years to settle property claims and other problems between the republic and the union that may emerge during its secession. A republic can secede if no less than two-thirds of participants in the referendum vote for it.

During the discussion on Wednesday it became apparent that the bill on the renewal of the Union Treaty and the division of authority between the union and the republics required additional work.

The bill puts strict limits on the authority of the center and the joint competence of the Union and the republics. However, many legislators believe, that this version of the bill does not give republics enough rights to exercise their sovereignty. The organization of joint defence and the protection of state borders are accepted by everybody. Other areas are more controversial, for instance, the economy, finances and international relations. Some legislators suggested that these matters be left to the discretion of republics.

Some participants in the discussion urge signing an entirely new Union Treaty, in which every republic wishing to be part of the Union can specify what rights it delegates to the center.

Committee Debates Union Treaty

PM2203130590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by A. Davydov and V. Romanyuk under the rubric "In USSR Supreme Soviet Committees": "Union Treaty Will Ensure Republics' Sovereignty"]

[Text] The country's present development level, the growth of national self awareness, and the need to ensure more fully the sovereignty of the union republics require the substantial renewal of the Union Treaty. That is a formulation from the draft law "on the renewal of the Union Treaty and the delimitation of the powers of the USSR and the union republics" whose discussion took place in the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Economic Reform. The discussion of the draft law on the procedure for resolving questions connected with a union republic's withdrawal from the USSR was also on the agenda.

Describing the draft law, Deputy M. Bronshteyn assessed it as a definite advance in consolidating the republics' sovereignty and economic and political independence. The draft declares the integrity of union and autonomous republics and grants them the right to enter into direct economic and cultural relations between themselves and in addition union republics will be able to enter into relations with foreign states, to conclude treaties with them, to exchange diplomatic and consular representatives, and take part in foreign economic relations and in the activity of international organizations.

At the same time, in the deputy's opinion, the draft does not reflect the idea of a differentiated approach in forming the Union Treaty. A debate immediately erupted around the question. Does this approach not mean the enshrinement of the inequality of conditions for republics? Especially as the republics interpret in different ways the idea of withdrawing from the USSR.

The provision of the draft which reads "where the constitution of a union republic contradicts the USSR Constitution, the USSR Constitution operates" has also given rise to objections. This thesis creates a "stalemate" situation. That is why it was suggested that for such situations a mechanism of agreement be elaborated and introduced to the Union Treaty.

"Unfortunately the draft does not contain what unites the union," Deputy P. Bunich noted. "But only what divides it. Some republics," the deputy stated, "are anxious to leave the union because they receive no advantages from participation in the regional market. If they had these advantages they would be anxious to join the union. Geopolitically, geographically, and economically the market should give advantages to all participants."

"But we are creating the foundations for concluding a Union Treaty," V. Vologzhin parries. "The path to the treaty is the delimitation of functions."

The committee members devoted a substantial part of the sitting to an article by article discussion of the draft. Despite the fact that virtually all sections were thoroughly "plowed over," a single approach was not worked out for some points. Thus, deputies M. Bronshteyn and S. Sulakshin asked that their special opinion be recorded, demanding the removal from the first article of the draft the provision on the voluntary delegation of part of the powers of the republics as sovereign states to the union organs.

Deputy Yu. Blokhin noted a gap in the concept of the draft: It pays little attention to autonomous formations. This thought was ardently supported by Deputy N. Sazonov, who represents the interests of 141 deputies from autonomous republics and formations. He pointed to the draft's conceptual discrepancy with previously adopted laws reflecting autonomous republics' interests.

From one document to the next the concept of the autonomous republic is coming increasingly close to the concept of the union republic. Deputy P. Bunich expressed dissatisfaction at this trend. But Deputy R. Salukvadze discerned even in this a time bomb for the future of the federation.

"Has the working group examined these proposals?" V. Vologzhin asked.

"They have not had time," Yu. Blokhin, leader of the working group, admitted.

"We get angry when the Supreme Soviet 'worms its way' into our draft laws," V. Vologzhin said. "And now we ourselves are again beginning to rework all this. That means our subcommittees and working group worked badly."

The draft law on the procedure for resolving questions connected with a union republic's withdrawal from the USSR did not give rise to serious polemics. The deputies noted the logical structure of the draft law and the correct formulations. As a whole, although it does not prevent a republic's withdrawal from the union, the draft law rather helps to weaken contradictions.

During its routine session the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order examined a number of draft laws which it is proposed be submitted for the judgment of the country's Supreme Soviet.

Special attention was paid to the USSR Draft Law "on general principles of local self management and local economy in the USSR." As is well known, this document was approved by the Supreme Soviet at its first reading. Its publication in the press—it was reported at the sitting—gave rise to a broad flood of letters to the organs of supreme legislative power. Considering the results of nationwide discussion and the comments and proposals of the Supreme Soviet committees and permanent commissions of the chambers and the union republics' wishes, the draft law was further worked on and has now been submitted for the agenda of the third session.

The assessments voiced during the sitting were contradictory. Thus, for instance, objections were again heard against the provisions of the draft law which create the basis for local interests to prevail over state interests. But in practice all the speakers, including the leading experts in the science of government who took part in the sitting, as a whole responded with approval to the draft law.

"We have grounds," Yu. Kalmykov, the committee's chairman, said, summing up the results of the discussion, "for approving the draft and recommending it for discussion at the session.

To systematize what was said during the discussion and to introduce appropriate amendments a working group has been created headed by Deputy S. Lushchikov.

Then the members of the committees examined the draft law "on the renewal of the Union Treaty and the delimitation of the powers of the USSR and the union republics" prepared by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It was noted that this document's degree of legal preparation is not yet high enough. But, aware of the particular topicality of the problem, the committee deemed it possible to submit the draft law for discussion to the Supreme Soviet chambers.

The greatest number of critical remarks during the discussion at the sitting was generated by the draft law "on taxes from state, leased, cooperative, public, and other enterprises, associations, and organizations." But the people's deputies and the scientists who took part in the committee's work disagreed with the very essence of the draft which, as Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Gurevich said, has been adjusted to fit the 1990 plant and budget and on 55 pages simply reproduces the Ministry of Finance instructions now in operation.

The committee decided to set forth its remarks and recommendations in detail and to send them to the Plan and Budget and Financial Commission—to the draft law's compiler.

The sitting also discussed proposals for the renewal of the committee's staff. Yu. Kalmykov reported that several deputies will move to other parliamentary formations and, within the rotation procedure, they will also have to get rid of those seat holders who are registered but do not work in the committee. In total over 10 vacancies are formed. The deputies examined the list of candidates for the vacant places including proposed candidates O. Borodin, A.Kuzmin, Yu. Levykin, and T. Tyurina. The question of changes to the committee staff will be examined at a forthcoming plenary sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Chambers Pass Union, Republics Powers Bill

LD2203180190 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 22 Mar 90

[TASS Parliamentary Correspondent report]

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—A bill on the delineation of powers between the union and the constituent republics passed the first reading at separate sittings of the two chambers of the Soviet Parliament today.

After scrutiny of the bill in parliamentary committees and commissions, it will be submitted for consideration to republican parliaments.

The bill details the exclusive powers of the union and the spheres of joint competence of the union and the republics.

Differing views were expressed during the debate, with some speakers rejecting the bill altogether. Ukrainian writer Yuriy Shcherbak, for instance, said that a new union treaty should be elaborated by authorised republican delegations, while this bill should not be approved because it preserves the diktat of the centre.

Leningrad lawyer Anatoliy Sobchak objected, saying that the bill gives union republics all state authority over their territories.

It is in the interests of the republics themselves that some functions, like the adoption of principles of legislation, be performed by the centre. In Sobchak's opinion, the document under discussion should operate until the conclusion of a new union treaty.

The two chambers failed to agree on the title of the bill. This matter will have to be settled later by the Conciliatory Commission.

The Council of Nationalities approved the first reading of the bill on enhancing accountability for encroachments on the ethnic equality of citizens and violent disruption of the integrity of Soviet territory. The document passed the first reading in the Council of the Union late in February.

The bill bans the activity of any organisations aimed at instigating enmity and violence on an ethnic, racial or religious basis or violently disrupting the integrity of Soviet territory.

The chambers will continue separate sittings on Friday.

Soviet Approves Territorial Integrity Bill

LD2203150390 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The Council of Nationalities, one of Soviet Parliament's two houses, today approved a bill toughening responsibility for encroachments on ethnic equality and for forcible violations of the Soviet Union's territorial integrity.

The draft was earlier endorsed by the other house—the Council of the Union—in a first reading.

Unlike existing legislation describing the responsibility of individuals for such offences, the bill speaks also of the responsibility of associations fomenting enmity and violence on ethnic, racial or religious grounds or aiming to break the country's territorial integrity by force.

A ban on such activities, however, can only be imposed through court procedures, after which the organisations in question will be disbanded and their property confiscated.

The Council of Nationalities also passed a bill delimiting the powers of central and republican authorities in its first reading, following a sharp debate that began on Wednesday evening.

The bill gives central authorities the exclusive right, in particular, to settle disputes between republics, define the Soviet state border and frontier regulations, decide the federal budget, establish an integral banking and monetary system, set national taxes, adopt a uniform price-setting policy, sign agreements on state loans and credits, manage transport, the power industry, communications and the defence industry, shape Soviet foreign policies, and protect sovereignty and national security.

The joint competence of the central and republican authorities will include determining the general legal position of autonomous republics and regions and principles of local self-administration, formulating the fundamentals of civil, land, criminal and other legislation, laying the economic and legal groundwork for a national market, following a uniform labour policy, coordinating research, and combating crime.

Although most speakers support the basic provisions of the bill, some fear that the powers of the center and the responsibilities it holds jointly with republics will be too broad.

It was also suggested that approval of the bill be preceded by republican legislatures' decisions on the powers they agree to delegate to the center.

Chairman Rafik Nishanov assured the council that the bill will be submitted to the republican parliaments after being examined by the Second Supreme Soviet house and amended with regard for deputies' suggestions and criticisms.

The Council of the Union began debating the bill in the afternoon.

Bill Bans Violation of Territorial Unity

LD2203143990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 22 March broadcasts a three-minute report by Marina Novitskaya from the Kremlin on the Supreme Soviet session. This morning saw the session of the Soviet of Nationalities which discussed and adopted at first hearing two bills, Novitskaya notes. The first is to be called "on demarcation of powers between the USSR and subjects of the federation as the basis of a Union Treaty." The Soviet of Nationalities also adopted at first hearing a bill "on increasing liability for infringement of citizens' national equality and forcible violation of the unity of the territory of the USSR."

Novitskaya interviews Yuriy Khamzatovich Kalmykov, chairman of the Committee for Legislation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who says: The latter bill is needed because of the latest events in the Transcaucasus, Dushanbe, and other regions. In our times unfortunately quite a few quasi-fascist associations have been formed and the bill is directed mainly against the associations, which may be outlawed and banned, disbanded and their property confiscated by the state. It also provides for criminal liability of those who call for forcible change to the territory of the union, the republics, or autonomous formations: In the first instance up to three years imprisonment and fine of up to 10,000 rubles [R], if repeated, up to seven years and a fine of R20,000, and if on instructions of foreign intelligence then up to 10 years."

Novitskaya says that now a session of the Soviet of the Union has begun: It will concentrate on the bill on demarcation of powers between the USSR and union republics.

Soviet of Nationalities Adopts Draft Bills

LD2203133590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] While at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, we go over to the correspondent's post of All-Union Radio in the Kremlin: Andrey Nikiforov is at the microphone.

[Nikiforov] The session of the Soviet of Nationalities, in my opinion rather fruitful, ended recently. The deputies adopted in the first reading the two draft laws. In a while, the session of the Soviet of the Union will begin.

Deputies Receive Resolution on Economic Reform

LD2203122490 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Our parliamentary correspondent reports that people's deputies of the USSR are receiving a resolution of the country's government on the preparation of materials necessary for implementing the transition to a planned market economy. These are draft laws and parliamentary and government resolutions which are needed in connection with the radicalization of economic reform. They include a general document on the actual transition to the new economic system, and also draft laws on reform of economic activity, foreign investments, pricing reform, and also anti-monopoly legislation.

Political & Social

Lukyanov Views Problems in Political System

LD2203143190 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 22 Mar 90

[By TASS political correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The institution of an executive presidency will not diminish the role of the Soviet parliament, because the prerogatives of supreme authority have not been changed, notwithstanding the seriousness of the recent constitutional amendments, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoly Lukyanov said today.

Of course, changes will be made in the work of the top echelon of power aimed, in the first place, "to ensure cooperation of the authorities, along with the division of their functions and the preservation of counterbalances," he told TASS.

Speaking about the characteristic features of the political system which is being created in the country, Lukyanov pointed out that, while in some countries a president heads or supervises the government, the executive presidency in the Soviet Union fits into the framework of the soviets. "The government will continue to be the executive authority and the Supreme Soviet and the congress—the legislative authority. The most important task of the president is to coordinate their work. The president personifies the unity of the country, the unity of nations, the unity of soviet power, which manifests itself in the functions of both legislative and executive authorities," he said.

Lukyanov described "the emergence of a whole galaxy of new, promising politicians, connected in thousands of ways with the people, land and production" as the most important characteristic feature of the Supreme Soviet and the congress, revealed in less than a year of their existence. "They have already accumulated some experience of transforming the will of electors to legislative acts and resolutions of supreme authorities."

"The parliament is getting more and more mature, capable of adopting both popular and unpopular resolutions," Lukyanov pointed out. He believes that a further deepening of perestroyka and the radicalization of the economic reform will inevitably call for unpopular measures and, consequently, a responsible attitude of the legislators to the laws they adopt. "We adopted in the past many laws looking like wishes or declarations. Now it is time to adopt laws demanding action."

Speaking about the prospects of the creation of a multiparty parliament, Lukyanov said that "a one-party parliament can also have pluralism of opinions." He described as an illusion the idea that a multiparty parliament can resolve all problems and set everything in order. "Parties are not created on somebody's order. Only life can promote their emergence proceeding from its requirements."

The present one-party Supreme Soviet is a parliament with a variety of opinions, Lukyanov pointed out. Several very active groups have formed there—agrarians, ecologists, scientists, women and a group of young deputies. As soon as republican groups began to be created, which upheld mostly their regional interests, the Soyuz (union) deputy group emerged, which rallies 140 members of the Supreme Soviet and more than 300 deputies at the congress. There is also an inter-regional group, which puts forward its own plans and proposals.

"A chairman of the Supreme Soviet needs to be patient and tolerant, to display will, to be attentive to each of the groups," Lukyanov continued. Stressing that he is a communist and will remain a communist, he said, at the same time: "I always remember that my party proposed a dialogue with all forces, following the course of perestroyka, and I shall do my best to promote the success of this dialogue."

Lukyanov said that 32 parliamentary delegations and 17 deputy groups had visited other countries in the past nine months. A total of 200 deputies visited 42 countries, without taking into account individual trips of Supreme Soviet members invited to attend various activities. There were about 300 such trips. "Sometimes this affects the working schedule of the Supreme Soviet and reduces the efficiency of voting on major bills," Lukyanov pointed out.

"Now it is important to master the cooperation mechanism in the legislator-president-government triangle. We are just beginning, but we shall move steadily along the chosen path," he stressed.

Ambartsumov on Gorbachev's Show of Strength

*PM2003111890 Rome AVANTI! in Italian
14 Mar 90 p 4*

[Telephone interview with Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, director of the Politico-Ideological Department of Moscow's Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, in Moscow by Libero Lizzadri; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] [Lizzadri] The last time AVANTI! interviewed you you stressed Gorbachev's hesitation and indecision. Now the impression—here, at least—is that he has started to make his mind up. I say this on the basis of a number of events: the very rapid intervention in Tajikistan, the appeals for law and order in connection with the demonstrations organized by the interregional group—appeals which were followed by large-scale deployments of police—the outlawing of Pamyat, and proceedings in the Supreme Soviet in connection with both the presidential republic and private land ownership.

[Ambartsumov] I agree with this impression. I believe that Gorbachev's greatest endeavor has been to display his strength or, rather, the strength of the position that he occupies. He has shown that he recognizes the discredit that indecision and hesitancy bring on central government. All the latest events—especially those in the Caucasus—have shown that problems cannot always be resolved with the method of Leopold the Cat—a film character popular with Soviet children for his catchphrase, "Let's love one another." Indeed, appeals of this tenor addressed to the peoples of the Caucasus—instead of the adoption of responsible and decisive measures against the organizers of the pogroms, such as that in Sumgait—have shaken the state's authority and have in practice encouraged the wreckers of the Soviet state.

Gorbachev seems to have wanted recently to display the strength of his authority to all those whom—perhaps without much foundation—he considers equally to blame for these disintegrations, from the fierce nationalists of Azerbaijan to the radical democrats in Moscow. Of course we have seen very recently that power is not held by the man in the street and that Gorbachev holds it firmly in his own hands. The people are not opposed to this power, and neither is the democratic movement. The hostility was directed, rather, against the indecision in advancing the reform, against the chief of state's hesitation. In this context the people and the democratic movement should be seen as Gorbachev's allies, not as the saboteurs of the reforms, who are to be found, rather, among the extremist or conservative groups.

[Lizzadri] Perhaps this is also your explanation of why something strange happened in connection with decisions demanded chiefly by the radicals—such as that for the presidential republic, and so forth: That is, the conservatives supported Gorbachev, while the radicals voted against him.

[Ambartsumov] First, the conservatives supported Gorbachev unwillingly—mainly to deal a blow to the radicals. The radicals, on the other hand, were not opposed to a presidential republic, but recently they have feared that such a system could degenerate into despotism, unlimited power, and therefore formulated objections to the plan submitted. They were disturbed by the fact that the plan submitted was not coordinated with the Supreme Soviet commissions, as should have been the case according to internal regulations.

[Lizzadri] What do you consider the good and bad points of the law on the presidential republic?

[Ambartsumov] I have already spoken about its good and bad points. However, I would like to discuss the course of the discussions in the Supreme Soviet. The fact is that when moderate radicals such as Sobchak tried to submit certain objections and amendments, proposing the formulation of counterbalances to the president's power, Gorbachev's attitude was one of abrupt impatience, and he accused them of demagoguery. This behavior of Gorbachev's made a bad impression on those present and he evidently realized this because the remarks in question were not broadcast again on television. Nevertheless on that occasion Gorbachev somewhat damaged his image among the people. I would like to add that perhaps Gorbachev was too accustomed to enjoying the public's support and trust and that this time, faced with opposition, he reacted badly. But I believe that this is an isolated episode and that Gorbachev will remember his legal studies and realize that opposition activity is legitimate, right, useful, and inherent to any society based on the rule of law.

[Lizzadri] How is the land law to be assessed? Will the kolkhozes and sovkhozes be dissolved?

[Ambartsumov] I do not believe that all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes will end, but I believe that those that run at a loss and that are parasites will be replaced by self-employed farm workers or by citizens wanting to turn to agricultural activity. The merit of this law, however, is that it puts an end to an old bugbear: private ownership. There is still a widespread fear—and I see it at the meetings and rallies that I attend as a candidate to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Republic—that the whole of Russia will be sold off to the capitalists. People do not realize that sometimes private ownership brings greater prosperity than state ownership. However, in this instance, too, it is a matter not only of the law but also of its implementation. It is therefore important that the president and his aides succeed in overcoming the resistance that will certainly come from the central and local bureaucracies.

[Lizzadri] What will the Lithuanians do following the announcement of the separation? How will relations between Moscow and Vilnius develop?

[Ambartsumov] I believe that it is a matter of trying to create a suitable mechanism. The Lithuanians did not like the government's plan because the central state places many obstacles in the way of the people's possible desire to secede. It is important that the central government and republics succeed in surmounting their disputes and that a compromise prevail. As far as Lithuania is concerned, I do not support its secession, because it is dangerous both for the state and for Lithuania itself. I believe that there is a chance of finding solutions that will satisfy both the central government and Lithuania. So the new constitutional blueprint of the new Soviet federation must be formulated very carefully. For instance, the Baltic republics could be linked to Moscow by treaties of assistance and cooperation, while other republics could be a different kind of members of a federation or confederation. The factor that must be borne in mind is the possibility of various forms of association with the union. Uniform relations between republics and center are impossible. Be that as it may, Lithuania cannot be deprived of every opportunity to separate from the center and to become independent.

USSR Foreign Telephone Link Breaks Down 21 Mar

PM2103231590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 90 p 1

[D. Babich report: "Telephone Went Dead...."]

[Text] Telephone communications between the USSR and the rest of the world were interrupted on the morning of 21 March. Newspapers were unable to contact their correspondents and discusssions between commercial partners were interrupted, not to mention private conversations. This occurred because equipment at the Moscow International Telephone Exchange (the only one in the USSR) went out of action.

According to workers at the exchange, communications were not completely interrupted and could be ensured in cases of emergency. "No war occurred," was the answer I got in the exchange office to my question about the danger of such an incident, "communications were interrupted for four hours and restored in the afternoon."

As to whether there could be any recurrence of the breakdown, the exchange's chief engineer replied that "anything can happen with equipment." They declined to give fuller information on the causes of the breakdown.

Construction Causes Problem

PM2303150190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 3

[V. Korneyev report: "Hello, Is That the International Service?.."]

[Text] Moscow—On 20 and 21 March IZVESTIYA telephone operators had difficulty in "getting through" to overseas locations. By the morning of 22 March communications were restored. What was the cause of the temporary disruption?

We turned for an explanation to S. Kravtsova, chief of the international exchange of the Moscow territorial and production intercity and international service association.

"Reconstruction is currently under way at our exchange," Svetlana Konstantinovna said. "The purpose is to expand the potential of the international telephone service. Because of the running reconstruction work, certain difficulties have emerged: There have been both disruptions and delays in obtaining a connection..."

"When will the reconstruction be finished?"

"It will continue throughout 1990..."

Frolov Answers Journalist's Questions

PM2303111590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Meeting with Journalists"]

[Text] As has already been reported, a meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists was held in the PRAVDA editorial office 19 March. The journalists' questions, connected with the results of the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the extraordinary congress of people's deputies and other events of the country's domestic political life were answered by Academician I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA.

What kind of questions were they? What was discussed?

XINHUA correspondent (PRC): As is well known, communists are like-minded people. But factions and platforms are appearing. What do you think in connection with this about the communists' ideological and organizational unity?

[Frolov] I think and I am sure that any party can exist only as an alliance of like-minded people. But they are united not by the formal, apparent unanimity which we used to show off in the recent past. Today party unanimity is determined primarily by the principles which comprise the party's ideological-political basis. As for a specific understanding of problems, communists can have different viewpoints and that is natural. We recognize the pluralism of opinions and speak of dissent. I think that in the process of our political life's development a certain ideological polarization is also possible, including between communists. The whole point is what the limits to their differences of views are.

In the CPSU now there are sometimes diametrically opposite views concerning the essence of the party itself and its ideological choice. I personally do not consider this normal. I do not consider it normal when a party devoted to humane democratic socialism and to the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin at the same time includes people who deny the socialist idea and who abuse the party and Lenin. It is not a case of the deification of Lenin or of dogmatism in interpreting Lenin's legacy. We renounce all that. But to me it is clear that those who disagree with the CPSU's ideological choice should leave it and we will not hold onto their coat tails. In any case I would act in precisely this way and no other if I disagreed with party principles.

If we miss out someone in our renewed party then I think this will only benefit the party's ideological-political cohesion, which implies a precise definition of position. That is my viewpoint.

REUTER correspondent: How far does the system for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress proposed at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum reflect the opinion of rank and file communists?

[Frolov] Some people agree with it, some do not. The Central Committee suggested several options for electing deputies to the 28th congress and submitted them for examination by the communists themselves. Let them decide whether, for instance, elections should or should not be held by okrug. That is their right.

RIZOSPASTIS (Greece) correspondent: What is your attitude to the fact that despite criticism the Congress of People's Deputies has left in the altered Article 6 of the USSR Constitution a formulation which in my view singles out the CPSU specially among political parties?

[Frolov] I think it is all very simple. So far there are no other officially registered parties of an all-union scale in the country. But the CPSU does exist. It exists and a very great deal rests on it. The law defines the real state of affairs as of today.

Actually, I have already explained my position on this question at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, whose materials have been published in PRAVDA. I also said that the actual idea of changing Article 6 arose within the Central Committee, in the Central Committee Politburo, and arose long ago, and not under pressure from some forces, which some people do not tire of asserting from rostrums in various auditoriums. The question was merely how, in what forms and at what stage, to introduce the changes. Now that we have a new deputies' corps and a new Supreme Soviet, the need for such changes has become urgent and the party has come out with the relevant initiative. It is a profound error to think that the present formulation was left to enshrine only the status of the CPSU. It would hardly be right to destroy or to call for the destruction of existing structures until new ones have been created and have strengthened. When everything has stabilized I think other formulations will appear. But first let's look at what everything will be like in life.

Question from BBC correspondent: I should like to know your attitude toward the "Democratic Platform" in the CPSU.

[Frolov] We published it in PRAVDA. In addition before that the editorial office held "roundtables" in which scientists, journalists, party workers, and also members of the "Democratic Platform" coordinating council and the platform's authors took part.

My personal attitude toward this platform is critical. Why? Because I stand on the CPSU Central Committee platform. I see something positive in the fact that there is a democratic, constructive discussion of the present situation in the party. We must admit that this was not the case before.

Without offending any of my scholarly opponents I should like to add the following to what has been said. For instance, I well remember how one author of the "Democratic Front" once sharply criticized the "humanizers of socialism." But what is happening now? For me this is unacceptable since I have always advocated the humanist principles of socialism. And another thing: Look at what is happening.... Quite often critics of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform take "their" ideas and thoughts from party documents and speeches by M.S. Gorbachev and other party leaders. Many basic approaches were elaborated at the 19th party conference.

PRAVDA has published the well known article by Gorbachev which says even more than the draft Central Committee Platform—at least on the historical and theoretical planes. I am resolutely opposed to sticking labels but I do not thinkin that these "borrowings" can be regarded as scientifically correct without giving references.

Now about the party's intellectual potential. This is an extremely important question, in my view basic to its destiny.

There are now many what I believe to be high-quality intellectual forces rallied around the party leadership and the Central Committee. After all, not everyone looked the leadership in the mouth when boldness was severely punished. But there is a different "boldness." You remember M.S. Gorbachev's report in connection with the 70th anniversary of the October revolution and you will see who began the process of rethinking, including the rethinking of our history, and at what level these processes began.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent: How do you assess the party's present relations with young people?

[Frolov] I shall say frankly that we now have a very great many problems here. The fact that the party today is doing little work among young people and that the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] and the youth movement have in many respects remained by themselves as it were I regard as a big failure of ours. I am sure that the party's renewal is really possible only through the broad enlistment of young people. I see a renewed party capable of successfully completing the processes of perestroyka primarily as a party of young people.

I consider one of the most important tasks of people of my generation to be to pass on our experience to them. In many respects we have been unable to realize the designs which have inspired us since the mid fifties. That is why I am attentively following the new ideas and trends which I encounter on the pages of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS although I disagree with a great deal and want to argue about a great deal. But that is normal, that is how it should be. It is bad that there is too great a time gap between the generation of which I am speaking and the present young intellectual wave generated by perestroyka. I consider this one of the gravest legacies of the era of stagnation. This dramatic "pause" in dialogue between the generations is also undoubtedly having a bad effect on the course of our perestroyka.

Correspondent of the Hungarian newspaper NEPSZABADSAG: Please comment on the results of the elections in the GDR.

[Frolov] So far only the first results are known. We will naturally accept them as a reality. Life proceeds and the Germans themselves will work out how to act. Some people are in a hurry and are forcing on events and some people are opposing their development, but they will proceed along their path. The four great powers which were the victors in World War II will play far from the least role in all this.

Frolov Book on Man, Humanism Reviewed

PM1403203090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Mar 90 First Edition p 2

[Review by Lieutenant Colonel N. Yefimov, doctor of philosophical sciences, under "Notes About Books" rubric: "Faith in the Future"]

[Text] For people who are pondering the problems of human existence in today's complex and paradoxical world, a book by the well-known Soviet philosopher and public figure I.T. Frolov (Footnote 1) (I.T. Frolov, Man and Humanism [O Cheloveke i Gumanizme]. Works From Various Years. Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1989, 559 pages), which sums up his many years of investigation of these problems, will undoubtedly be of great interest.

The author examines contemporary humanist problems in their global aspect, taking into account the wide variety of factors influencing the existence and historical development of human civilization. Interpreting the triad: man—mankind—humanity, he focuses attention on questions such as the essence of humanism and its relationship with the new thinking, the dialectics of the panhuman factor and the class factor, and the paramountcy of panhuman values.

A significant place in the work is allotted to the examination of problems concerning the practical development of socialism. The author analyzes the factors that led in the past to deviations from humanitarian ideals in our country and ways of realizing these ideals in the course of a revolutionary perestroyka, with the creation of a renewed, humane, and democratic socialism as its goal.

It is impossible not to agree with the author's conclusion about the special importance of overcoming the personal alienation and estrangement from our common affairs that is still characteristic of so many people and the necessity of drawing on the personal responsibility, personal initiative, and personal contribution of each and every person in these affairs.

The concluding chapters make for interesting reading, devoted as they are to the problems of the meaning of human life, its duration, and the mortality and immortality of mankind.

In a monograph which amalgamates a huge amount of factual material from different branches of knowledge, there are many bold ideas. Just one example. Criticizing the concepts of convergence, both the classical concepts and the latest modifications of the "social design" type, the author remarks at the same time that one ought not to reject the prospect for mankind of a **united humane and democratic society based on mixed property relations**, collective and private. This, according to the author, would be a **transitional society**, on the basis of which the prospect of establishing social relations constructed on the panhuman principles of a genuine humanism would open up.

The book is distinguished by its optimism, its faith in the future of socialism and of civilization in general. It persuades one of the vitality and promise of the Marxist-Leninist ideal of the new man—a man of reason and humanity.

Frolov Chairs PRAVDA Journalists' Debate

90US0596A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Feb 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report on journalists' conference in Moscow by V. Fedotov and V. Khalin: "Perestroyka and the Fate of the People"]

[Text] **As we have already reported, last week in Moscow there was a conference of PRAVDA correspondents working in the republics, krays, and oblasts of the country. The discussion of the problems of the regions and the perestroyka processes in the local areas and the tasks for reporting on the preparations for the 28th Party Congress were, in the editors' view, businesslike and constructive. We offer for the readers' attention a brief stenographic report of the paper and certain statements of our correspondents.**

The conference was opened by the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, PRAVDA editor-in-chief I.T. Frolov.

"Let us consult," he said, "on how we can best arrange our work while, figuratively speaking, setting our watches to the current moment and looking to the future. The situation in the party and the country is very serious. The political struggle in the center and the local areas has heightened. There are attacks on the party—from the left and right. Some times these are accompanied by an outbreak of demagogy and an inadequate reaction to it in the social consciousness. The process, which is not always predictable even for current conditions, is one in which we are just beginning to generate democratic traditions. Not only healthy and constructive forces, but also destructive ones are loudly making themselves known. The latter are not very interested in the final goals of the transformations in the state, the society, and the party. It is important to them to declare their existence as loudly as possible, to expose the "enemy," to destroy anything and everything, and to take over the power. Today they are doing this under the banner of democracy. But tomorrow they will be depicted on the broad palette of social reality—from monarchism to anarchy, from neo-Stalinism to neocapitalism.

Therefore the perestroyka initiated by the will of the party requires protection, and the main thing here is the active work and accelerated progress of perestroyka processes. We are at an important point in history. The question is being decided whether or not there will be a humane, democratic socialism and who will take over and carry on the banner of Great October. Great deeds are not accomplished at rallies or with shouts. They are based on painstaking, persistent labor in the shop and in the field, in the scientist's laboratory, in the local soviet, in the country's parliament. Perestroyka processes were given a solid point of reference in the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th CPSU Congress.

The task of PRAVDA is to become an open tribune for discussion about the platform and to provide an outlet for mature, weighed, and businesslike judgments and suggestions of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. This means placing at the center of attention the radical problems that have been set for the country by the current stage of perestroyka: saturation of the consumer market on the basis of developing the economy, regulating finances, accelerating scientific and technical progress, establishing the democratic institutions of a law-governed state, regulating interethnic relations, and reinforcing the federative structure of the state.... We have many concerns. And among the most important are the renewal of the party and the functioning of the party press under the conditions of the ideological struggle and the multiplicity of social structures of the society. We must present the main thing more broadly: how perestroyka has touched the deep strata of the people and how they are participating in it.

Our course involves more debatable materials, extensive presentation of a diversity of viewpoints, and an active search for workable ideas throughout the entire spectrum of earthshaking problems in our daily life. When discussing the party platform it is important to get away from a small group of familiar names. We have many talented people who are able to think and are very involved in the fateful revolutionary process of perestroyka in the USSR—our common home. These people are not rushing to get to the microphone. We must find them and give them the floor. We have a great role in this—the role of staff correspondents, the authorized representatives of the organ of the CPSU Central Committee in the local areas.

This is why the PRAVDA editorial board attaches special significance to the professional and also the moral qualities of the newspaper's staff correspondents. Authorized representatives of PRAVDA should know everything that is going on in their region and maintain the closest tie with the readers and the party committees. We know that our correspondents—and this is quite correct—are patriots of the regions in which they represent the newspaper. But at the same time the staff correspondents should have the courage and strength of character to evaluate according to principle and party positions the processes that are taking place there and not conceal the truth from PRAVDA readers. So let us consult on how best to fulfill our mission and defend our party and humanist position.

Word and Also Deed

The most important thematic area for our newspaper is the party committee and the party press. Today there are many flaws in these relations. On the one hand, not all party committees are skillfully mastering modern methods of working in the sphere of ideology, they strive to follow the old way and take up the club of the command-administrative system and to slip into petty tutelage. On the other hand, there are newspapers that forget that they are organs of party committees and oppose the party line. It is necessary to collectively develop a system of party leadership of the press under the new conditions and to disclose and approve the thesis of the draft platform of the Central Committee to the effect that the CPSU considers its own information organs in the center and the local areas to be an important means of realizing its policy and ideology and organizational and ideological-educational work and directing their activity.

Of course, the question of the responsibility of the press is extremely crucial. Sometimes the mass media are used for private or egoistic group interests, of stirring up interethnic strife, and for propaganda of ideas that are alien to humane, democratic socialism. The participants in the conference noted that we must speak out resolutely against this.

"We can see with our own eyes how keen the struggles among political forces in our society are," said the head of the PRAVDA correspondent point in the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], A. Simurov. "Sometimes they remind me of the battles of the rugby teams fighting for the ball. This is the association that automatically comes to mind: Among a forest of trampling feet a child named 'perestroyka' is sitting and crying. He is being crushed in the heat of the battle. It is our duty as correspondents to help the party and its Central Committee to protect the 'child' and to take a militant, principled, and clearcut party position. We shall follow this line on the pages of the newspaper to the extent of our strength and ability."

The thought of the board was grasped by staff correspondent A. Gryachev (autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus):

"I am surprised, to put it mildly, by the attacks of certain 'perestroyka-ites' on PRAVDA. We PRAVDA workers have fought and are fighting against the administrative-command style, bureaucratism, formalism, careerists, and scoundrels of all strips and against all other negative phenomena in life. People look to PRAVDA for justice as to the last instance, with faith and hope. And we help them even though we ourselves receive bumps and bruises."

Unfortunately, not all people take this into account. Even party workers, confused in the face of the complicated realities of democratization and glasnost, complain about PRAVDA's unfavorable attitude toward them. Yet frequently when we encounter serious mistakes made by party workers we want to tell them: Look around you, do not pass up a chance that has been given to you, do not repeat mistakes of the past, turn and face the troubles and concerns of the people, and they will immediately value this and follow you. We are all serving the same cause, for the correct and mobilizing word is also a cause.

"What will PRAVDA be like tomorrow? This will depend largely on what the party will be like. As a newspaper it is being renewed. Unnecessary baggage is being discarded and healthy elements are being consolidated. The recent meeting in the Irkutsk party obkom [oblast committee] convinced us: Our 'Discussion Leaflet' is evoking an immense amount of interest," noted Ye. Yermolayev (Irkutsk). Participants in the meeting observed that the newspaper was imbued with life. The 'Leaflet' should be more pointed and interesting. This will help the party to gather the opinions of staunch communists and accelerate perestroyka.

I should like to cite an ancient fable. They say one time a pretty woman was laughing at Socrates: 'Here you are laboring with your students and they are not willing to follow you. Yet all I have to do is raise a finger and they come running.' 'True, they come running,' agreed the philosopher. 'For your way is down and it is easy to fall. But I call them upward and this is a hard road.' We PRAVDA workers must appeal to communists and all readers to go only forward, only along the main path.

"In our Altay region," **S. Brovashov** continued the discussion, "neither political extremism nor the kind of populism found at rallies has been developed. Is everything the way it used to be? By no means. There are attacks on the party. Some people also have it in their heads that everything is the party's fault. But there is also the position of the party itself and its leaders: Do not give up without a fight. Beginning in the summer of last year there were discussions within the party throughout the kray. During the course of them it became clear that new, young forces are appearing in the party which are capable of successfully fighting against the crisis in the CPSU and are in favor of restructuring its style and methods. I think that today it is very important for the party press to support these forces and their efforts in all ways and to enrich the practice and the concept of the radical renewal of the party. I do not wish to defend all of today's party apparatus but I shall do everything I can to make sure that victory is won in the party by the new people who are capable of quelling the turbulent negative processes."

Yu. Razgulyayev (Kirghiz SSR) noted that any corner of the country, regardless of what the situation may be there, deserves a place on the pages of PRAVDA:

"I suggest a permanent column entitled 'View From the Regions.' The purpose would be to provide a permanent outlet on the pages of the newspaper not only for such giants as the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist

Republic], the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, but also republics such as ours and also the autonomous republics. This would be fair. There are no seniors and juniors among the peoples of the USSR. They are all equal and this means that they deserve equal attention."

"I wish to give a response concerning the exaggerations about the mass media," stated **V. Vasilets** (Odessa). "At one meeting in the city—there were only 30 people there—a shout rang out: 'Down with the Jews from Odessa!' And what did this grow into?! There was an extra meeting of the oblast ideological commission. A TASS correspondent was there and he dashed off the remark: They say there are pogroms in the city. The information was conveyed from the television screens and also on the program VREMYA. Telephones immediately started ringing all over Odessa: What is going on there? The people are upset. It was only an ordinary case of bungling if not a provocation. One asks: Who needed this and why? I think cases like this should be investigated thoroughly and should be assessed in a public and unhypocritical way."

"Correct," agreed **N. Mironov** (Dnepropetrovsk). "Nothing should be shoved under the carpet. We must say directly who is who in order both in the party and in the society to get away from underhanded people, to rally together on a healthy basis, and to define a clearcut position regarding each issue—and above all in economic policy. Then it will be clear to the people whom they should follow and where. Then perhaps there will begin to be a decline of disorder and instability...."

The PRAVDA staff corresponding for the Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and Murmansk Oblast, **A. Minayev**is bothered particularly by the fact that sometimes statements in the mass media are not constructive or balanced. Instead of a serious analysis of the problem, journalists follow the populists and actively support thoughtless campaigning under the slogan: Down with this, down with that. Take the dachas away from the leaders! They were taken away.... But these dachas are frequently the kind that can have no other purpose. There is an energy shortage in the republic. It is acquired from Leningrad, where there is no surplus either, and from the Kola peninsula. But no, we must not create our own nuclear power plants. There are heated television debates on this subject, but there is only one viewpoint. But how can we continue to live—with torches?"

"Having more than one party is becoming a reality of our time," noted PRAVDA correspondent for Estonia **I. Teterin**. "The people's front in the republic, where sometimes mutually exclusive and contradictory forces are combined, is apparently conducting its last election campaign. The future parties already have their own press organs. Their sponsors, as it were, do a much better job of dealing with their editorial staffs than party committees do with party publications. Here is an example. While PRAVDA correspondents receive an average of R285 per month, the new Estonian publication pays qualified workers from R700 to R1,500. The bureau of the Central Committee of the republic Communist Party is making a decision to raise the wages for its journalists and increase the payment of honorariums. But what is happening now? The center is holding up the decision as it is with all mass media in the country. Incidentally, the director of the Estonian party publishing house told me a couple of days ago that the question is about to be resolved in the republic—Estonia is the leader in this respect."

"It was quite right that the need to increase our newspaper's efficiency was discussed today," noted **L. Pyatiletova** (Khabarovsk). "But I should like to bring up another of the readers' demands that is even more important in my view: PRAVDA must really write the truth so that neither the country's communists nor the PRAVDA workers themselves will have to be embarrassed later about the things they write.

"We must take the readers' opinions into account in our work every day and not as before when we went to them for advance only when there was a subscription campaign. The 'Friends of PRAVDA' clubs that are now springing up throughout the country will help to establish this kind of reliable feedback." **Our Daily Bread.... Who Provides It?**

The country has been taken over by a mania for rallies, said the participants in the conference. The impression one gets is that few people want to work but they all want to control the money in the common pot and every one is pulling the blanket over himself. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the party is getting away from the leadership of economic affairs—and in principle this is correct but the local soviets have not yet taken over the reins and have been swallowed up by the elections. Under the conditions of the "interregnum" who should lead the labor collectives and direct them toward concrete deeds? Who will select competent, respected personnel who are capable of heading up economic construction? As before, the party organizations and their committees. Otherwise we can get stuck in all the verbiage and starve to death.

"In my oblasts—Belgorod, Orel, and Kursk," said **N. Utkin**, "the situation is calmer than in other regions of the country. Party, soviet, and economic organs are devoting a great deal of attention to the development of the agrarian sector, they are efficiently and intelligently solving the problems that arise in connection with perestroyka, and they are finding a language in common with the informal associations and organizations. In the Orel area and on the Belgorod kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] progressive forms of organization and payment for labor have become widespread, including seed farms that are leased. All this has contributed to increasing the productivity of the fields and farms. Naturally, the stores have a better selection of meat, milk, vegetables, and fruits at state prices. Appreciable changes for the better have taken place in this area during the past two years in Kursk Oblast as well.

"But such a favorable situation and the businesslike attitude of the people of these oblasts do not please certain people in the capital. Thus USSR people's deputies Ye. Yevtushenko, A. Zolotkov, and S. Belozertsev said they did not believe the district election commission for the Belgorod national territorial district which refused to register as a candidate people's deputy from the republic a person who did not work anywhere and had come to Belgorod from Murmansk Oblast. It refused because the organization that nominated him did not have the right to do so. Nonetheless the aforementioned people's deputies went to the Central Election Commission demanding that the decision of their Belgorod colleagues be overridden. In spite of the refusal to satisfy their demands they continue to insist. In particular, S. Belozertsev went to the Central Election Commission three times and now has even sent a letter to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Such persistence is certainly amazing."

"A fierce pre-election struggle," stated **V. Lisin** (Gorkiy), "such as the one in which I participated as a candidate people's deputy from Russia shed a new light on the role and position of the working class under today's complicated conditions. At Gorkiy enterprises there is an active process of politicization of the broad masses of workers. On the one hand one can sense ever more keenly the apathy and even a kind of confusion and a consumerist attitude. On the other there is a persistent demand to create conditions for highly productive labor. Complicated as the conditions may be, basically the working class has still not lost faith in the party. But the people are demanding that it be renewed immediately. Each day of delay is fraught with unpredictable consequences. People here see the solution in the creation of a sovereign Russian federation and the most rapid regeneration of the Russian Communist Party, within the framework of the CPSU, naturally."

The "Discussion Leaflet" met with good response among Gorkiy citizens. But this is not enough—communist workers are demanding that the party newspapers define the main directions more clearly and provide guidelines. Of course, they should write more about the working class, its problems and concerns, and its best representatives.

"Kharkhov, as you know, is a large machine building center," said **I. Lakhno** . "When the wave of strikes passed among the miners there were forces that tried to provoke strikes among the Kharkhov workers who had many crucial problems of their own. But it was the workers who exhibited restraint, political maturity, and collective wisdom. They expressed their position clearly: If someone achieves material advantages for himself by striking it is at the expense of someone else and it is wrong for working people to take bread away from one another.

"We should go to the labor collectives for advice more frequently and we should present their opinions on the pages of the newspaper more frequently."

"In Tashkent Oblast," stated **A. Kaipbergenov**, "people's lives are again being threatened and their homes are burning. In a moment people abandon their homes, throw away their belongings, and become refugees. Is the Fergana tragedy being repeated? It is too soon to tell, but I am sure of one thing: The roots are the same. There are the neglected socioeconomic problems of Uzbekistan, the depressing poverty of the majority of the population (we have almost a million unemployed), the one-sided specialization of agriculture, when more than 90 percent of the cotton that is produced is shipped outside the republic in the form of raw material, the dying Aral... Under these conditions the changeover to self-financing of the republic, in my view, is the path to economic and financial ruin.

"I am convinced that mistakes of the past are being repeated. The standardized approach to the union republics has appeared again: They are all the same for economic accountability! But concrete conditions are not taken into account. I am speaking not about attitudes of dependency but about real help from the center so as not to leave the republic in a one-on-one battle with a huge number of problems that are beyond its capabilities. Just take, for example, the reanimation of the Aral Sea. Neither Uzbekistan, nor Kazakhstan, nor Turkmenia is capable of solving the problem by itself."

"I do not think that there is a point on the map of the country where there is peace and prosperity," stated **A. Androshin** (Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy). "In the remote spots of Kolyma, Chukotka, and Kamchatka social life is more turbulent than ever before. But are the problems of the Far East frequently reflected on the pages of the newspaper? Alas, for various reasons much is still being left up to the cadres. This is too bad. The Far East is frequently called a region of social risk. The clearly marked raw-material, colonial nature of the assimilation of this region and the departmental monopoly on business here while the local soviets remain without rights so far, the almost complete lack of the necessary infrastructure, and the housing problem which is almost as bad as it can get—this is far from a complete list of the 'ills' inherent in the remote regions of our country. It is no wonder that our neighbors who come here from Alaska establishing tourist routes to Chukotka frankly call them 'journeys into the thirties.' Our promising and at one time widely advertised Far Eastern program has essentially been retired.

"But this region continues to be 'ours' and therefore, in spite of all the events and processes taking place here, I appeal to the editors to remember it more than just occasionally."

"We must satisfy the demands of the rural reader more completely," said **K. Aksenov**(Krasnodar). "Take, for example, this vital problem: How we purchase goods abroad for which we pay hard currency. For instance we recently shipped to the Kuban from Portugal 17 million conventional cans of tomato paste while our region itself annually produces 10 times this amount and both supplies the country and delivers it abroad. One asks why these cross deliveries, and for hard currency at that. There are many absurdities and they cause legitimate indignation. It would seem that we should fix our attention on such exceptional cases and not allow national wealth to be squandered."

"We should have professional pride," noted **G. Sazonov** (Vologda). "We must not lag behind in the elucidation of events as happened to some degree with the strike of the miners of Vorkuta. Of course the 'pressure' from the higher-ups also had an effect, but the editorial staff should also have been firmer and more courageous. Taking the situation in the country's coal basins into account, I think it would be expedient for the correspondents' points to conduct a joint investigation of the subject: 'What is bothering the miners?' Let us try to keep the dissatisfaction from growing and to figure out all the details."

Problems of the economy were discussed at the conference in a comprehensive and involved way. Many correspondents gave concrete examples which show the imperfection of the laws on the enterprise and cooperation and the confusion between plans and state orders. This fact, for example, produced a sharp and unambiguous response. The government allotted billions of hard currency rubles so that we could go abroad and buy first-class raw material for light industry, providing the full amount of it for all the factories. Yet in January we produced fewer goods than we did during the same month of last year and some of the excellent imported leather for some reason made its way to the cooperators who again sold the raw material...abroad, and they placed the earnings in their own pockets.

Hostility Does Not Generate Sons....

No, it does not. On the contrary, it eradicates them. Yet first in one place then in another, throughout the country interethnic conflicts are being sparked. This was discussed with alarm at the conference of PRAVDA correspondents. Analyzing the situation in their regions, they came to a simple conclusion: Strife breaks out in places where the local party and soviet organs are not capable of promptly feeling the changing pulse of life, have lost the confidence of the masses, and will not or cannot clearly and convincingly talk with the people and explain to them we have no quarrel with them, that we all share the pain, the problems, and the offenses. All peoples of the country have become hostages or else victims of the cruel totalitarianism which reigned for too long in the party, society, and the state. These are different times. We must restructure together, we must look together for access to the high road of humane socialism, the one about which generations of revolutionaries dreamed.

"This is a very touchy and delicate subject," said **G. Lebanidze** (Georgian SSR). "Our every word, every thought we express pertaining to interethnic relations will be weighed on 'apothecary' scales and when evaluating extreme situations we must display a maximum of tact and caution and circumspection. What bitterness and pain was caused to me as a PRAVDA correspondent by our paper's coverage of the tragic events of 9 April in Tbilisi. The reports published during those days were based on 'official' sources that were not sufficiently checked and the country's public opinion was inadvertently misinformed. This is confirmed by such an authority as the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Tbilisi events."

"The problem is," **A. Pasechnik** (Moldavian SSR) joined in, "that emotions are now largely taking over. Especially in our republic where waves of mutual accusations clearly overwhelm reason. That is why the consolidation of the society is proceeding so slowly and why the first steps in this direction by the new leadership of the Communist Party of Moldavia are so difficult. Therefore I completely agree with Georgiy Ivanovich that PRAVDA statements concerning the republic should be weighed and very well thought out. And who is better oriented than a correspondent in the traditions and customs of the people among whom he lives and works? The opinion of the correspondent should be listened to attentively and he should be trusted more.

"And the second aspect. If one were to take my articles in PRAVDA over the past five months one might get the impression that all we do in Moldavia is hold rallies, strike, storm the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and so forth. Yet the republic is also functioning and working hard on solving problems that have been neglected to the extreme having to do with the economy, ecology, culture, and so forth. It is much more difficult for subjects like this to make their way into the editorial departments. The distortion raises questions and forms a not altogether correct idea of life in the republic. So we must have balance and reasonable proportions in the publication of materials.

"Even a year or two ago when I heard about Kazakhstan that the republic was living in a dream, that the people's social activity was low, although it was with reservations, I agreed," said a correspondents' point leader **G. Dildayev.** "Moreover, I saw that I was to blame for this as well. They said that we did not publish enough material that would stimulate this activity. But today I look at the situation differently. In the first place, thank God, Kazakhstan was not stirred up by a passion for rallies, and I did not incite people to this with a single incautious word. Many people envy the stability of our life. Incidentally, they envy its level too—people come to Kazakhstan from neighboring oblasts (especially in the northern part of the republic) for meat and sausage. And the social apathy is coming to an end. For instance, a week ago there was a rally in Alma-Ata which was organized by the combined 'informals' of the city. In general it was constructive. It turns out that it is possible for representatives of party committees, social democrats, and activists of the Zeltoksan (December) movement to find points of agreement. I can say honestly that I did not like everything that happened at the rally but I was glad about the general intolerance of extremism. This was the first time I had taken a look at the informal associations, which are 'exotic' for Alma-Ata. In any case, I had an informal desire to learn more about them."

A PRAVDA correspondent for the Armenian SSR, **A. Sarkisyan** , reflecting on the state of affairs in the republic, said in particular:

"The situation in Armenia is externally calm and under control but there is still internal tension. It is known that the changes in the moods of the people depend to a larger degree than anybody thinks on the solution to the problem in Nagorno Karabakh. As the units of the Soviet Army were deployed along the border people continued to turn over weapons that had been hidden previously, although even today the population, especially the criminal element, still have many of them. In principle the rally process is dying out in the republic. There are dozens of social organizations with their platforms and slogans in operation in the republic. The most influential of them are seriously vying for power. At the same time the party committees are frequently passive and do not enter into open discussion. Apparently the party apparatus is exhibiting 'hothouse' qualities and is not accustomed to fighting in 'open battle.'"

"In Latvia," said **O. Meshkov** , a complicated political situation has been created, a multiparty system is in operation in practice, and there is a struggle for power. The authority of the republic communist party is decreasing among the masses, which is shown by the results of the elections to the local soviets. The situation has been exaggerated even more because now, on the eve of the elections to the republic Supreme Soviet, there has been a split in the party organization itself—following the Lithuanian example. But many Latvian communists do not want to be passive observers of events; on the contrary, it is striving to become more active. In this situation PRAVDA's word and its position can and should play a mobilizing role, unite people, and inspire them. Unfortunately, we correspondents cannot always figure out exactly what the position of the editorial staff is regarding one fundamental issue or another. It frequently happens that you prepare an article, the department approves it, but it still never gets into print. You automatically think that perhaps your position as a correspondent differs from that of the editors. We need more certainty. I support pluralism of opinions on the pages of the newspaper and I prepare authorial materials of people in various social organizations. It would be very desirable for these articles to be published."

The discussion was continued by **Z. Kadymbekov** , the PRAVDA correspondent for the Azerbaijan SSR:

"First of all—about the situation in the republic as of the present day. Externally the situation has more or less stabilized: There are no interethnic incidents and the interrelations with the military have become somewhat calmer. Now that the situation has improved the Russian Baku residents, convinced that they are not threatened by anything any more, are returning to their native homes. The people are tired of stress, tension, and the oppression of negative emotions. They must take hold of themselves and make a breakthrough—and only through creative labor is it possible to search for and find the path out of the situation that has been created. In this respect it is gratifying that the railroad has finally started to work and the cargo cars are moving.

"I think the last article by A. Gorokhov and V. Okulov played a positive role here. What was it about these PRAVDA articles that attracted the attention of the republic's population? Their objectivity and their desire to figure out the essence of the problem."

What Lies Ahead?

In a summary report from the conference, which lasted several days, naturally, it is impossible to convey all the nuances and the entire spectrum of questions that were discussed. Of course, the discussion does not end just with those that are out in the open and sometimes quite urgent.

Life proceeds in its own way. People are working, raising children, and trying to have more interesting leisure. Of course they have not only sadness, but also joy and hopes for a better future. They are drawn to the treasure house of human culture and they enjoy immortal works of art.

The ancient philosopher said that everything will pass. The chaos in which our country was immersed by an indifferent history will also pass. But the people never have been and never will be indifferent. Life goes on. And we must value it in all of its diversity and depict not only the dark sides and not only the momentary illusions.

"PRAVDA writers strive for this," said **V. Vorobyev,** the PRAVDA correspondent for Pskov and Novgorod Oblasts. "For instance the newspaper has written a good deal about the problems of the A.S. Pushkin museum and the publicity for the work of the great Russian poet. Naturally, there was an article about the organization of the Society of Friends of the Pushkin Preserve. The PRAVDA correspondent point was one of the initiators of its restoration, for it was abolished in 1952.

"I think that each correspondent should have his own 'Mikhaylovskoye,' his own monument of culture which would be given constant and interested attention. We still do not write enough about the problems of culture or about the people who selflessly serve it. It is our duty to talk about them at the top of our voice."

"I have a brief addition to this true statement," said **Yu. Shcherbinin** (Volgograd). "I do not think we are giving the fair share of attention to the problem of youth. This is a mistake. In any revolutionary situation, and this is what we have now, it is the youth who are most active. Youth have their own leaders—not only informal ones but also those who are invested with power. Among them are many USSR people's deputies. For example, two secretaries of the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] obkom [oblast committee] have joined the Volgograd CPSU obkom. One cannot speak about the destiny of the party and the society without listening to the voice of youth. The future is with them. They have everything ahead of them. They have inherited a difficult legacy. Let us hope that they will not disgrace the memory of the generations that preceded them. For was it really any easier for any of them?"

"It is impossible to anticipate the future completely," noted **V. Pankratov** (Stavropol), "but we must strive for this. Especially in those spheres that allow prognostication. Otherwise how can we insure ourselves against mistakes? After all, they will cause an immense amount of harm to perestroyka. And it is far from always clear precisely who is to blame."

This was also discussed by **V. Drozd** (Lvov), **V. Artemenko** (Tashkent), **T. Yesilbayev** (Alma-Ata), and **N. Volynskiy** (Leningrad) with respect to the formation of local party committees under the conditions of a renewed party. Our aggressive forward movement toward humane, democratic socialism depends on what kinds of leaders emerge. The subject of the vanguard role of communists—from the rank and file to the recognized leader of the masses—has been and always will be the leading one for PRAVDA.

During the course of the conference the correspondents worked intensively in the sections of the editorial office, refined their joint plans for active preparation for the 28th party congress, reached agreements on how to improve the coverage of questions of perestroyka in the stage of its decisive acceleration, and noted many key statements on burning issues.

Members of the PRAVDA editorial board and leaders of the main departments of the editorial office spoke to the participants in the conference: ideology—V. Poshatayev; party life—A. Ilin; social policy—O. Losoto; agroindustrial complex—A. Platoshkin; science—V. Gubarev; the press and journalism—B. Kozhemyako; information—V. Snegirev; letters and the study of public opinion—V. Lyubitskiy; and also the deputy editor-in-chief of PRAVDA D. Valovoy, the official secretary of the editorial office A. Chernyak, the director of the publishing house of the CPSU Central Committee V.P. Leontyev, and others.

L.B. Vid, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Commission] discussed in detail the peculiarities of the implementation of the radical economic reform in the country, and V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, discussed improvement of the work of law enforcement organs under the conditions of democratization of the state and the society and reinforcement of the protection of the rights of the individual.

In the opinion of participants in the conference, the discussion was candid and useful. It helped to earmark clear points of reference for the actions of PRAVDA journalists on the threshold of the party congress, and it was decided to hold another meeting of correspondents in the editorial office immediately after the congress.

Prokofyev Holds Moscow Press Conference

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[Text] A press conference was held today in the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU on the results of the March plenum of the Moscow City Party Committee and the recent elections to the republican and local soviets. For the first time, foreign correspondents accredited in the USSR also came to the press center, together with Soviet journalists. Our correspondent Vladimir Perfiliyev reports.

[Perfiliyev] Yuriy Anatoliyevich Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, answered journalists' questions. Touching on the activities of the newly elected Moscow soviet, he expressed the opinion that the past unanimity among deputies must not be expected. And this, in general, is a positive factor. After all, only where there is a clash of alternative opinions and proposals may optimal decisions, which will benefit the capital, be born. Yuriy Anatoliyevich Prokofyev was asked many questions by journalists, including some on issues of the work of the city committee under contemporary conditions. Listen to some of his answers.

[Begin Prokofyev recording] Fifty-eight percent of members elected to our Moscow soviet were communists, 69 percent of the deputies to the republics, and 64 percent to the rayon soviets. That is, the leading role of the Communist Party in the electoral bodies has been maintained. But work will, of course, be more difficult. I think we will rely on realists in the Moscow soviet. I think we will try to consolidate those forces in the Moscow soviet which occupy realistic positions, which understand life realistically and do not come forward for the sake of political ambition but for the sake of resolving vitally improtant problems for the city.

On a Russian Communist Party...[pauses] on a Russian Communist Party...[pauses] opinions are now crystallizing more and more...[pauses] on its simple, as it were, inevitability, the inevitability of the creation of a Russian Communist Party. Events are developing in this way in the country. There are quite strong centrifugal forces. The question exists of guaranteeing the economic independence of the Russian Republic, as is usual in relation to other republics. Once there is economic independence the role of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers increases, which means such a political force which would defend the interests of the people is needed. The Communist Party of Russia could become such a force. In order to raise the prestige of the Party—and now the main thing is the Party—is to eliminate the breach which exists between the leadership, the leading bodies, and the general mass of communists. For this the process of democratization within the party itself needs to be accelerated. An example is the decision of yesterday's City Party Committee Plenum. Even before the adoption of the new rules we are already extending the rights of the primary organizations. They are determinining for themselves when, and within which timelimits they will hold report-back and electoral campaigns. [end recording]

Congress Decisions 'First Step' to Democracy

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[Pavel Gutiontov "Political Diary": "Important Step But Only the First One"]

[Text] When analyzing a chess game, commentators put exclamation marks by the moves which, in their view, are most successful and question marks by the unsuccessful ones. What punctuation mark am I going to put after the sentence: The extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies ended its work in the Kremlin?

An exclamation mark?

If we look just at the congress results, the answer is quite clear: Yes! Thanks to the decisions made during these four days, the very course of the country's history has changed abruptly. We have acquired the institution of presidential rule. We have acquired the constitutionally enshrined principle of the multiparty system.

It seems to me impossible to overestimate these events. They imply things which are unprecedented in our history: On the one hand, the ruling party's collective responsibility, on the other, the top official's personal responsibility. Of course, this in itself will not resolve all the problems rending our society. Both the multiparty system and presidential power are just means to an end, not the end itself. It is necessary to overcome the paralysis of power whose reality the people's deputies so often mentioned at the congress by no means for the sake of power itself and its convenience, but so that power can finally earn and ensure the conditions for a breakthrough. "Otherwise," our president said, "negative tendencies will grow more quickly than before."

One writer compared the situation in the country today to a bus going down a mountain road. The engine has died, the brakes have failed, and the passengers are grabbing the steering wheel from the driver with shouts of "Let me try...!" Now we seem to have realized that the best thing we can do is to trust in the skill of the person whom we ourselves will put in the cab. Don't interfere! This is not an appeal for authoritarianism, not a return to a regime of personal power, of which our country, more than any other, has had its fill, although our rulers were never called presidents. This is a call for common sense, which compels us to follow basic rules for our own safety.

I also believe that the president must be elected by the country's entire population. As history shows, disregard of principles for the sake of short-term convenience all too easily leads to a rejection of principles altogether. But the situation in our country now is really extraordinary and perestroyka has no other leader except Gorbachev—and the congress once again demonstrated this extremely graphically. It is clear to all of us that the uncontested nature of the election of the president did not stem from the apparatus' machinations or backstage intrigues by forces resisting society's democratization. Of course, this lack of choice is not in itself a reason for pride, but I think that the secret ballot of people's deputies which confirmed Gorbachev's role and place in our public life at the congress was necessary. The fact is that our presidency emerged in an unprecedentedly dramatic struggle, and in the process of this struggle attacks on the leader increased as never before, at times assuming the merciless character of a "shoot to kill" policy. "Gorbachev has become an obstacle on the path toward democracy," some people declared. "Gorbachev is leading the country to ruin," others stated. Representatives of both viewpoints, greatly amplified by short-term election considerations, essentially united, objectively pushing our "bus" into the abyss.

The congress demonstrated that neither those on the "right" nor those on the "left" have a serious program to get the country out of the crisis or political leaders who could implement this program. As before, both they and our long-suffering society as a whole have just one Gorbachev, his program, his fantastic will, his determination, and his ability to get his own way, whether some people like it or not. Everything that we have seen in the last four days on television was yet another statement of this fact. I repeat that there were no alternatives, the choice was from the only possible candidacy, nonetheless, it was a CHOICE, for we chose not only an individual—we chose a certain POLICY.

...But I shall return to the beginning of these notes: What stops me from using an unconditional exclamation mark in assessing the congress?

While the congress results suit me perfectly well, alas, the same cannot be said for the congress itself.... I fear that the number of outstanding students in the "school of democracy," as we at one time hastened to call the Congresses of People's Deputies, is clearly not swelling. What is more, on each occasion there is an obvious decline in the level of political culture, the atmosphere in the hall becomes increasingly intolerant of different opinions, and speeches are couched in by no means parliamentary terms. Personal insults are becoming commonplace, and sometimes now it does not matter whether a deputy has any grounds at all for the charges he makes. The authenticity of the facts forming the basis of many very serious accusations is dubious, and it is obvious that people are juggling with the facts. It is possible to express the fear that the commission for questions of deputies' ethics will have more work than any other commission and is much more important for the country as a whole.

In January I met with the Finnish prime minister, and Mr. Holkeri "off the record" shared his impressions of our parliamentary debates which he follows occasionally on television. The premier noted: You complain that you have not secured the same level of freedom to express your views as Western parliamentarians. Quite the reverse, none of Europe's legislators have such freedom: A deputy who dared to use even a small proportion of the expressions which are perfectly commonplace in your country would be thrown out of the auditorium in Finland....

No, of course, it is not only the lack of good manners that should be lamented. But a rally-type atmosphere is unacceptable for adopting state decisions, such a mechanism must inevitably go wrong, malfunction, and go around in circles. Reluctance to listen to one another (both opponents, and comrades in arms), poor competence regarding the questions which you are discussing, the persistent tendency to switch the conversation to the level of petty personal attacks, and blatant preening before the television cameras—the third congress demonstrated all this, unfortunately, in abundance.

Kipling left the immortal image of a certain forest tribe (the bandar-logs) who intended to eat sweet fruit, but during the lively discussion of this question forgot their initial intention. Unfortunately, I recalled Kipling all too often during these four days. I say this with sorrow over people many of whom I know personally and respect and in whom, like voters, I had placed and continue to place my hopes.

When the future president is told to first go through a virtual "induction course," this is anything but genuine concern to strengthen the country's defense capability. In precisely the same way the obscure story of the nomination of "alternative " candidates and the serious discussion of them in terms of superlatives which we seemed to have gotten out of the habit of bear no relation to the democratization of the elections for the first post of the state.... Only later did it transpire (the congress spent a good deal of time on this procedure) that both candidates had categorically refused the honor offered them. Impossible! We shouldn't accept their withdrawal!—deputies insisted, even after one of the "contenders" noted that nowhere in the world is a person elected president of the country by force, against his will.... Pardon me, are we being serious?

Finally, I would be dishonest if I said that I was very disappointed at this congress with the activity of the Interregional Group deputies. The lofty concept of "opposition" in our country too has passed finally from the category of labels to a mere statement of fact. But one that imposes obligations! So the call not to vote for Gorbachev uttered by one Leningrad deputy required supplementing at the very least: **Whom** should deputies vote for? But the interregionals refrained from making suggestions, and if this demonstrated anything, it was irresponsible and capricious touchiness. Playing, among other things, further into the hands of those who claim that it is not anguish for the fatherland that motivates them, only the desire to make a name for themselves. I believe that this is not so, but....

Generally, it is time to consider seriously to what extent 2,000 deputies can fulfill the role of the country's top legislative organ. At any rate, it is more and more obvious that the congress is losing out by comparison with the increasingly professional Supreme Soviet, but presidential power implies an authoritative parliament and independent judiciary to serve as the main powerful checks and balances. It is precisely this system which is called democracy throughout the world.

Let us admit that so far we have taken only the first step.

But we have taken it, and now we must go further.

Domestic Dialogue, Compromise Urged

PM0203104990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Mar 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by F. Kuznetsov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and candidate people's deputy of the RSFSR for the 20th electoral okrug (Moscow City's Kiyevskiy Rayon), under the "Position" rubric: "Reefs of Extremism"]

[Text] Perestroyka has entered a terrible period of its existence. The lack of advances, and essentially the decline, in the working people's material position, the unprecedented mounting aggravation of interethnic relations, the growing crime terror, the aggravation of social inequality in connection with the corruption, the shadow economy, and speculative trends in the cooperative movement—all this has accumulated a considerable potential of explosive energy in the depths of society.

The question on which the future of our country depends is as follows: Will we be able to direct the energy of dissatisfaction into a constructive, creative channel or will it be directed into a destructive, ruinous, anarchic channel going as far as rebellions and the collapse of the first socialist state in human history? Right now a kind of triarchy has arrived: The forces of perestroyka and the trends seriously concerned for the renewal of our life and the country's emergence from the crisis are being opposed not only by dogmatic but also by extremist forces. Using the mounting public dissatisfaction and discontent with the results of perestroyka, they are striving to seize initially the informal and then the formal leadership, that is, political power. As in the bad and seemingly forever departed years, they preach the principle that the end justifies the means and they do not hesitate to state that he who is not with us is against us.

Extremism acts today, as indeed always, in populist garb, seeking through "left-wing" or "right-wing" demagogic phrases to lead the crowd behind it. Populism is ultimately an expression of crowd instincts and power. In practice the difference between, for instance, the "Democratic Union" and "Pamyat" is not great: Both groupings call people not forward but back, to the tricolor flag, both exploit the immaturity of the political consciousness of a certain section of the population. Truly, whether you turn left or right you will encounter one or another from a position of strength policy. Extremism and intolerance are trying to split our society and people, systematically and purposefully fuelling tension and seeking to generate open antagonism, argument, a free for all, rebellion, and ultimately shedding blood, calculating in this way, on a murky wave of discord, on fighting their way to power.

There is no doubt that extremist sentiments have rapidly grown into a substantial kind of semi-underground political force, which was eloquently proved during the first election campaign and during the holding of the second. Look how consistently the compromising of rivals proceeds in Moscow, how shamelessly the "thugs" work, covering election posters with offensive inscriptions compromising the candidates! As a candidate deputy of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] for the 20th territorial okrug of Moscow, I have experienced this personally.

Particular alarm is caused by the fact that the Moscow extremist forces have long been flirting with and seeking contacts with the radical nationalist forces of a number of republics. They have undoubtedly made their contribution—both through the mass media and through personal contacts—to fueling national hostility there.

Extremism in national relations asserts itself in the form of anti-Russian or anti-Jewish, anti-Armenian, or, for instance, anti-Azerbaijani sentiments—in a word, in chauvinist sentiments.

Extremism in politics seeks to usurp democracy with the diktat of permissiveness.

Extremism in the economy supports primarily speculative trends in the cooperative movement, acts as a parasite on corruption, and defends the shadow economy in order to establish its magnates as the economic power in the country.

Extremism in culture carries out the planned and successful destruction of popular morality and universal human ethics and national traditions, bringing down on viewers and listeners a black wave of base "mass culture," including scenes of violence, sex, eroticism, total negativism, and cynicism.

Extremism objectively (and also in large part subjectively) serves our mafia, which is meekly termed the shadow economy, being its "ideology," "politics," and "morality."

To the attentive eye studying the development of modern society the offensive, under the guise of perestroyka, of destructive, destabilizing, ruinous, devastating principles making skillful use of public dissatisfaction with the mounting difficulties is obvious. We live in a grave atmosphere of exasperation and evil. It would be wrong to think that these are all spontaneous, fortuitous processes coming out of and from the people. Having an objective basis, these processes are nonetheless skillfully inspired and directed by real economic and political forces operating openly. They are trying to impose on society **their own concept of perestroyka** whose essence lies in returning us to the era of the initial accumulation of capital when the dealers of the shadow economy and the drugs business and corrupt representatives of the authorities will be the masters of our life.

It is this prospect for the country's development that they want to impose on the people, wrongly seeing them as the "obedient majority." Since they understand their alienation from the people (despite their ability to dupe people and to "push" their candidates into parliament) they are prepared to drive people with the whip again—this time not into socialism and not into capitalism, preferring the so-called "democratic dictatorship" for this, that is a totalitarian dictatorship by a narrow section of allegedly "democratically inclined" people to bring the obedient (as yet not to them) majority into "paradise."

So far, fortunately, the "democratic dictatorship" of these latter-day "Robespierres of democracy" is unattainable for them. But they are trying to advance toward it, establishing a "democratic dictatorship" over minds, shamelessly flouting any manifestations of the principle of "pluralism" which they hypocritically proclaim. They are trying to advance toward "democratic dictatorship," that is toward their gradual gaining of political power, by a means that has been tested and checked in the history of mankind.

This path, which has emerged clearly recently, is as follows. Extremist forces support and sometimes even inspire any social or national orientation in society wherever it may arise and where possible fuel it and try to speculate on it, using for this any rostrum, primarily the pages of the press organs accessible to them. They eagerly spread any rumors and, speculating on the real difficulties of perestroyka, openly conduct intimidation with popular rebellions and pogroms, giving the specific times when they will start. Aggressiveness in society proceeds today primarily from them—from the "left-wing" or "right-wing" extremist forces. As is well known, speculation on social tension in transitional periods and its artificial imitation and sometimes the malicious fuelling of the people's dissatisfaction and the desire to bring people out onto the street have always been and remain the surest way of struggling for power.

The greatest scope for extremists is provided by the mass meetings and demonstrations they love so much. I am not against meetings. In the political struggle, especially in times of crisis, meetings can play and do successfully play a revolutionary transforming role. But there are meetings which are more like irresponsible playing with fire, which kindle instincts in people and society and then lead them to a strong-arm, implacable struggle frequently without any need and even without trying out beforehand peaceful means of resolving the problems which have accumulated.

Muscovites awaited with alarm the 25 February meeting—especially as two meetings and demonstrations of many thousands of people by diametrically opposed political forces were initially planned. Thanks to appeals from the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government, and the CPSU Central Committee and to timely measures taken by the public and the organizers themselves, this time the elemental meetings forces did not break their banks. Extremism was driven back to the ditch. But let's think for a moment: What would have happened if the two planned meetings and processions in the capital's center had struck a spark? Inasmuch as we have political forces dreaming of a return to authoritarian methods, they would not have disdained to use this clash (which, of course, would have entailed the escalation of similar clashes) to prove their rightness which, put simply, consists in claiming that in our semicivilized country only people like themselves can rule.

But where is the way out? The way out is in the consolidation of the democratic center, which has enough intelligence, wisdom, and willpower to lead the country to renewal not through anarchy and rebellion but through reforms. A center which can dissociate itself from both "left-wing" and "right-wing" extremism.

For some reason we have developed an almost scornful attitude toward the path of common sense or, as it is significantly called, the "golden mean." But I shall cite here the authority of a man who has like no one else studied the history of the Russian revolution on the basis of an enormous amount of documentary material—on the authority of A.I. Solzhenitsyn from the book "October 1916": "It is hardest of all to draw a middle line in social development: Shouting, the fist, the bomb, the bars do not help as they do at the extremes. The middle line requires the greatest self possession, the firmest courage, the most careful patience, the most precise knowledge."

Unfailingly—let us add this ourselves—dialogue!

We have eliminated the "image of the enemy" abroad. But, alas, while cultivating it within the country. Operating according to the old and tested principle that he who is not with us is against us, the extremists are seeking to split the intelligentsia of Russia into two implacable warring groupings.

But what is the main watershed in this dispute? If you look at the situation without bias, without sticking the labels of "enemies of perestroyka" on each other, without suspecting each other of "antiperestroyka" and other designs, it will become clear that the main thing which today has divided writers and journalists into two warring camps is the difference in their understanding of the ways of renewing the country. As in the 19th century, the Russian intelligentsia is divided by its view of the future path of society's development: Whether to be oriented toward the experience of bourgeois-parliamentary Europe or to rely on their own national historical traditions? And so it is "either or...."

But why is that so? Perhaps, having thought deeply about the entire package of questions connected with the country's renewal and Russia's economic, political, and spiritual resurrection, we shall find a third path uniting all that is promising from both our national experience and world experience? Let us recall the 19th century! It was not the liberal Westernizers or the Slavophiles who were the true masters of the dumas at the time. The true masters were the peasant democrats, who united deep patriotism and love for their people with the idea of Russia's Europeanization. I personally am in favor of this concept of democracy in the country, a popular concept traditional for our Fatherland but now unfashionable, a concept which unites democracy with the interests of the people and not the embryonic bourgeoisie.

Today the main political debate—for all the motley picture—is conducted between three trends: the communist movement, the social democratic movement, and the popular democratic movement. The latter two are in all likelihood the germ of future political parties. They are obviously the future triarchy—a renewed communist party including the independent communist party of the Russian Federation, continuing under the new conditions the traditions of Lenin and the bolsheviks; a social democratic party continuing the traditions of the mensheviks; and, finally, a party resurrecting the traditions of Russian popular democracy destroyed during the revolutionary years. The political debate between these three trends of social thinking will, in my view, decide the future of our Fatherland. But it is extremely important that this debate be conducted in a civilized manner and not through "shouting, the fist, the bomb, and bars."

We writers, critics, and journalists adhering basically to these three views of democracy and perestroyka must sit down today at the "roundtable" and, respecting each other's human dignity, thoroughly go over the points of our differences in the hope of elaborating at least a relatively civilized consensus. That would be real political work!

After all, however deplorable it may be, today it is the intelligentsia which is setting the tone of intolerance and nonacceptance of each other. But are there always sufficient grounds for implacable civil strife?

On hearing Yu. Chernichenko's speech at the 25 February Moscow meeting on the tragedy of collectivization and the fate of the peasants and the national shame of grain purchases abroad, I thought: Surely these ideas were expressed before him in their prose and journalism by F. Abramov, V. Belov, and B. Mozhayev? And in general—is the sharp antagonism which has arisen recently in the Writers Union not in many respects unnatural? I am sure that the way out lies elsewhere—in the search for new forms of mutual relations and new paths toward mutual understanding of each other.

Much that is offensive has been said to each other. Has the time not come to announce a moratorium on mutual insults in order to switch to in-depth discussion on the thrust of issues? To the ascertaining of essential differences? To the quest for optimum solutions? And further has the time not come to seek to extend this practice of serious dialogue to politics and the economy, to all spheres of life? Each of us must squeeze out from himself intolerance and extremism with regard to the other or others just as Chekhov demanded that the "slave" be squeezed out.

If we make discussion, debate, and dialogue—but without fail in civilized forms—a system, then perhaps there will be a drastic decline in the need for meetings. At the same time a dangerous form of ripening of bloody conflicts and of preparation for the triumph of a domestic policy from a position of strength will leave the political struggle.

Of course, dialogue and the "roundtable" presuppose moving toward compromise through mutual concessions, presuppose that the conflicting sides renounce authoritarian thinking, that is it presupposes the presence of a certain standard of political culture which, as the course of events and the debates in the supreme organs of power show, is obviously inadequate in the country now; it requires an understanding of the fact that not all vexed questions can be resolved immediately—only history will resolve them. It is by no means compulsory to resolve them by kindling civil strife. It is time we all renounced the monopoly on the truth, the right to pass ethical judgment on our adversary. Only time is the true judge, only time will show who of us is right.

I fully realize that we have forces which are absolutely uninterested in either dialogue or compromise. And these are not only dogmatic forces, as it is customary to think. They include, of course, the very dangerous block of dealers of the shadow economy and the corrupt section of the power apparatus and the "ideologists" and "politicians" who serve them. You only have to look at the example of the "ANT" cooperative or the attitude toward the law on the exchange of bank notes to realize the degree of their influence. I do not raise here the question of whether or not the country's top leadership is aware of this, although it is an important political question. I merely speak of the objective trend which is taking shape as a result of the struggle (largely concealed from people's gaze) between political forces of different orientation.

It is essential to halt this trend in the development of the economy and society, curbing all adventurist and reactionary, extremist forces, arming the people with an in-depth analysis of the sociopolitical opposites and contradictions and with a knowledge of the package of means for overcoming them and ways of emerging into a new unity for society. Only open dialogue between different political forces can drive out the extremism and adventurism raging in our society, deprive them of public prestige, and direct society's development into a civilized channel. Otherwise there will be the trouble which has already swept many regions of our multinational country.

We must save not simply perestroyka, we must save the country. Finally, we must be clearly aware of the main conclusion to be drawn from the Georgian, Armenian-Azerbaijani, Fergana, Tajik, and other events: We must sit down at the (round!) conference table not after the prolonged raging of passions, but before all that. All of us, but primarily the politicians, must immediately learn to prevent terrible conflicts and predict the development of events correctly.

The time has come for all those who have a responsible attitude toward our people's fate to sit down at the conference tables.

Treaty Basis Urged for Regional Structure

PM2203102190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Mar 90 Second Edition p 3

[Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. Zharnikov article under the rubric "Draft CPSU Central Committee Platform: A New Federation": "What Kind of Treaty Do We Need"]

[Text] I have frequently heard it said of late that a new treaty of the union must be concluded. Ideas of this kind have been voiced both in PRAVDA and at the CPSU Central Committee February and March (1990) Plenums. The wording is more flexible and, in my opinion, more sensible in the draft platform: "The CPSU deems it necessary to develop the treaty principle in the structure of the union." I would like to concretize some elements of the platform.

What Does History Suggest?

It is hard today to single out the most important or the most pressing question in nationalities policy. But since the key area of nationalities policy, that is the improvement of the country's federative system, has already been discussed, I would like to dwell on two specific problems. The first is linked with the quest for the most effective ways of enshrining the new complexion of the federation in law. Here debates and clashes of opinion have recently revolved around the question of concluding a new union treaty.

This question has already provoked an emotional debate, both oral and in the press, which has begun to assume a political hue. But when you look deeper into the problem, you are puzzled: Why are lances being broken in this connection? It is effectively a question of how best to present and enshrine in law the new principles governing the functioning of our federation. The fundamental structures within a state system are generally enshrined within countries' constitutions. Work must now be set in train to radically renew the Soviet Constitution.

It is well known that the creation of the USSR was first made official in law by a corresponding treaty (1922) and then, two years later, by the adoption of the USSR Constitution. Moreover, the Constitution was not merely based on the fundamental principles of the treaty already concluded but actually incorporated it. As time passed the treaty on the formation of the USSR effectively ceased to be executed—under the administrative-edict system prevailing in our country, the unitary state had no need of it. As a result it was dropped from the 1936 Constitution, which was based on a different conceptual foundation from the previous constitution. Even the reference to the treaty disappeared from the constitution as the relevant chapter "On the Sovereign Rights of the Union Republics and on Union Citizenship" also disappeared.

Is it right to compare the situation in the 1920's with the situation in the late-1980's? After all, the union simply did not exist then, and that is why the republics decided to set it up, first concluded the appropriate treaty, and then adopted the Constitution. But today it is not a question of setting up but of renewing the union, of fundamentally restructuring something that already exists.

The overwhelming majority of the people involved in the debate are perfectly well aware that there is no need to carve an organism into its constituent parts in order to cure it of a dangerous disease. That is indeed not the way out, but can the issuing of a new birth certificate be considered so either? Instead of concluding a new treaty, would it not be easier to enshrine the fundamental principles (which no one, incidentally, has rescinded) in the new USSR Constitution that is currently being elaborated?

As we can see, this viewpoint has a right to exist, and it must be acknowledged that we proceeded on the basis of this viewpoint until recently in our views of the union treaty problem.

For a long time, while the debate was under way, the author of this article was not in favor of concluding a new treaty of the USSR. I was put on my guard by the absence of guarantees and by the problem of how it would prove possible to conclude it at all in the current situation. After all, any possible failure here is dangerous—it could spark off a fresh upsurge of passions that are already charged. The situation has changed with the introduction of the institution of the presidency in the country.

The Mosaic of the Autonomous Formations

The question of the autonomous formations is the second most controversial issue in the sphere of national relations. It was hard to expect anything else, since the problem is not merely extremely complex but also affects the interests of vast population groups which at times do not coincide.

Even a fleeting glance at our system of autonomous formations produces the impression of a mosaic, with figures of various sizes and shapes. We know that the country boasts 20 autonomous republics, eight autonomous oblasts, and ten autonomous okrugs. The most important thing is that, not only do their rights and possibilities differ from the powers of union republics, they also differ considerably among themselves. Suffice it to recall that autonomous oblasts and okrugs do not in fact have their own constitutions. We can add that autonomous formations were not considered and are still not considered now to be subjects of federation. That is, only union republics are correspondingly treated as component republics of the USSR; autonomous formations do not figure among the partners which concluded the treaty of the union among themselves.

On the basis of the prevailing situation, we can surmise that failure to take serious, profoundly considered steps with regard to autonomous formations will result in their acting with increasing frequency as "sources" of interethnic conflict. Mindful of this, the CPSU Platform on Nationalities Policy contains a number of proposals aimed at boosting their status, juridical rights, and economic independence. However, the proposed measures are nonetheless obviously inadequate and can only partially relieve the accumulated problems.

Let us dwell on the problem of the autonomous republics. Several alternatives have been proposed today to eliminate their qualitative inequality in comparison with union republics. The first option envisages giving all Soviet republics the same status without dividing them into union and autonomous republics. Another proposal involves converting just some autonomous republics—in particular those where this question is being mooted vigorously—into union republics. The supporters of a third plan reckon that all autonomous formations (both republics, oblasts, and okrugs) must be made directly subordinate to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Within the Union Republics

Each of the aforementioned proposals is of interest. However, they all effectively disregard one fundamental, important reality. Namely, the fate of any Soviet autonomous unit cannot be decided without the agreement of the union republic on whose territory it is located. This conforms with both the spirit and the letter of our fundamental law and also with a highly important principle in nationalities policy today—the principle whereby republics' borders are not touched without their consent. Are we confident that in today's reality the question of changing the status of autonomous formations or of making them subordinate to the "center" will be welcomed everywhere? Not only does this confidence not exist, on the contrary, it can be definitely asserted that this proposal will meet with a vehement rejection in a number of areas. Any attempt at a willful solution could have unpredictable consequences and will mean an effective return to the administrative-edict system. Nor can we leave "everything as it is."

One way out of the current deadlock has appeared so far. The development of treaty-based—precisely treaty-based—principles for relations between a union republic and the autonomous formations within it. Take the Russian Federation, for instance, which is perhaps the most characteristic and probably the most complex in this context. After all, it contains 16 autonomous republics, not to mention autonomous oblasts and okrugs. So why not conclude a treaty within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic itself with all the autonomous formations on the lines of the union treaty? After all, to use the image that has already been used, the Russian Federation was not—unlike the USSR—issued with a birth certificate.

The proposed treaty could enshrine those powers which autonomous formations will hand over to the Russian Federation and also those that they will retain.

Trade Union Issues Statement on Lithuania

LD2303174490 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 23 Mar 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Concern over developments in Lithuania was expressed by delegates to the founding congress of the Russian Trade Union Federation in the Kremlin.

Delegates confirmed the right of each republic to self-determination and stated that the solution of the issue "is only possible with the strict observance of Soviet laws and taking into account the mutual interests of the Lithuanian and other Soviet republics".

The statement adopted by the congress today called upon the Lithuanian working people to contribute to a quiet and balanced solution of the emerging problems. "It is necessary to avoid unilateral ultimatums and counter-ultimatums, which can only complicate our common future no matter how we now picture it," the statement says.

Delegates to the congress expressed confidence that after the bills to regulate the procedure for joining and leaving the federation are promulgated, a way acceptable to all will be found by joint efforts.

Aeroflot Stops Ticket Sales to Israel-Bound Jews

LD2203214290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have already reported the decision of the Malev [Hungarian] airline to stop conveyance through Budapest of Soviet passengers who are departing for permanent residence in Israel. Aeroflot gives notification of the following in this connection:

The sale of tickets to passengers departing for permanent residence in Israel was stopped today, 22 March 1990, for the Moscow-Budapest-Tel Aviv, Leningrad-Budapest-Tel Aviv, and Kiev-Budapest-Tel Aviv routes. These restrictions do not apply to passengers who have already purchased tickets and have a confirmed seat booking for a flight on the aforementioned routes. These restrictions also do not apply to those who have a guest visa, or who are on return business trips. The sale of air tickets for the aforementioned routes will continue according to existing regulations for business or tourist visa passengers.

Komsomol Plenum Agrees on Congress Agenda

PM2303144390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "10th Komsomol Central Committee Plenum: Day One"]

[Excerpts] The 10th All-Union Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] Central Committee Plenum began its work in Moscow yesterday.

Taking part in the plenum's work are USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol; first and second secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees; first secretaries of Komsomol kray, oblast, and okrug committees; members of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Komsomol Organizational Committee; deputy chiefs for Komsomol work of political directorates and political departments from Armed Forces branches and categories, military districts, groups of forces, and fleets; and leaders of All-Union Komsomol Central Committee departments and subdivisions and central youth mass media.

First secretaries of Moscow Rayon Komsomol Committees and a number of auditing commission chairmen from republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organizations are attending the plenum by invitation.

The plenum adopted the following agenda:

1. On questions and documents for the 21st Komsomol Congress.

2. Report on some questions concerning the holding of the 21st Komsomol Congress.

3. On amendments to the suggested representation of Komsomol organizations in the new All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

4. Other matters.

5. Organizational questions.

The following reports were delivered on the first item of the agenda:

—On the Komsomol Central Committee's Accountability Report and the Draft Komsomol Program Goals by V. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee;

—On the Draft Komsomol Statutes by V. Zyukin, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee;

—On the Draft Provisions for a Komsomol Central Control Commission by N. Klykov, chairman of the All-Union Komsomol Central Auditing Commission. [passage omitted]

Taking into account the discussion which took place, the plenum approved the Central Committee accountability report to the 21st Komsomol Congress, instructed the Commission for Elaboration of the Komsomol Program to finalize the draft Komsomol Program Goals, decided that they should be published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA by 1 April 1990, and instructed V. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, to deliver the accountability report to the congress.

The plenum will continue its work today.

Ministry Political Directorate To Disappear

PM2203093790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Yu. Tupikov, deputy chief of the USSR MVD Political Directorate, by IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Aleksandrov: "USSR MVD: There Will Be No Political Directorate"; date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] is elaborating a draft resolution whereby the functions of its political directorate will be changed. The document is expected to be submitted for ratification by mid-April this year. IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked Yu. Tupikov, deputy chief of the USSR MVD Political Directorate, to tell us the details.

[Aleksandrov] Yuriy Fedorovich, the USSR MVD system contains about 17,000 political personnel—involved directly in the militia, the firefighting service, and troop subunits. Does this mean that they will be unemployed after the draft is ratified?

[Tupikov] We are not discussing any serious cuts or even changes in wages. We believe that political personnel will simply be retrained. A social protection and instruction directorate will be set up instead of the political directorate. The tasks of people working within this system will change correspondingly.

[Aleksandrov] Why will the directorate be called that?

[Tupikov] This decision was preceded by quite substantial preparatory work. Our specialists studied the situation within the country's internal affairs subunits and conducted polls among militiamen. The political situation has changed. Militia personnel may belong to different political organizations in the near future. Naturally, the political directorate will be unable to exist in its present form. At the same time we have seen once again that no one is currently tackling questions of social protection related to personnel employed in internal affairs organs. IZVESTIYA has, incidentally, carried reports on several occasions about unlawful dismissals of militiamen. It is also well-known that their rights are virtually unprotected. We believe that the new directorate will be able to change the situation.

[Aleksandrov] You mentioned opinion polls among militiamen. Was the decision to reorganize the political directorate seen in the same light everywhere?

[Tupikov] No, not everywhere. In Central Asia, for instance, most personnel do not think that this step is justified as yet, while people in the Baltic republics think that it should be done.

[Aleksandrov] Social protection understandably constitutes a kind of trade union. Could you please explain the nature of the instruction, as you see it?

[Tupikov] Various people come to work in the militia. Some people have to train replacement troops: They explain the rights and duties of an internal affairs staffer and morally prepare young militiamen for their military duty—the fight against crime. We want to undertake this work in order to systematize it.

[Aleksandrov] There are Lenin rooms in many subunits. If a new resolution is adopted, will they have to be closed or converted into, say, "social protection rooms?"

[Tupikov] We are not currently discussing the closure or even the conversion of these rooms. I don't know whether they may be changed in the future. However, I am sure about one thing: However it may appear, their main task is to benefit the service.

Platonov Reinterpretation of Marx Explained

PM0903104390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 90 p 3

[Feature comprising book review by Daniil Granin followed by interview with Sergey Chernyshev, president of the "Humanus" intellectuals club, by V. Umnov under the general heading "Before Communism and After"—date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] **A Book To Read and Contemplate**

The book in question is astonishing. It astonished me first of all by its title and subtitle: "After Communism. A Book Not Intended for Publication." (Footnote) (S. Platonov, Posle kommunizma. Kniga, ne prednaznachennaya dlya pechati. Molodaya Gvardiya Publishing House, 1990). One might have thought this was a literary device designed to attract readers, but from the very first pages the astonishment continues and even increases.

The author, S. Platonov, opens with a section entitled "The Communist Interregnum." In section two he examines the question of whether capitalism exists and, in section three, the question of whether socialism exists. Once again it proves to be not a matter of paradoxical titles but something more serious and unexpected. It is a long time since I myself have read works connected with so-called "political economy," the Marxist-Leninist concepts of "capitalism," "socialism," and so forth, and it seems to me, as to others, by the way, that the traditional political economy course has long been obsolete.

The author leads us via a completely new route into a completely new and unfamiliar land of Marxian thought. Nothing is the way we were taught it was. Nothing is the way it was written down for us. The way Marx was interpreted and presented for 70 years is different, as is the explanation of the capitalism of Marx' day and the subsequent formations of development of the Western world right down to the present day.

Everything is different.

Marx had in mind that concept of social ownership which led to its truly socialist embodiment, strangely enough, in the framework of contemporary Western society. That which we doggedly and unthinkingly continue to call capitalist. Furthermore, according to S. Platonov, it is in no way socialist, either.

With a simplicity and liveliness to which I am somewhat unaccustomed, S. Platonov demonstrates how the forcible establishment of socialism or, more accurately, the way it was inculcated and implanted, led to its degeneration. But the natural development of Western society through crises and wars led to the deepest but organic change in its nature. It suddenly seemed to us to be far more suitable for human existence, more harmonious, free, and at the same time, more just than our society, which claims to be the embodiment of the slogan "All for the sake of man."

S. Platonov died in 1986. So there's no point asking the author. But his friends and comrades are now publishing this book and new materials and articles developing his work. They could hardly have appeared before.

Although I am by no means a specialist and I view this book simply as the ordinary reader would, I see in it not some mental game of abstract concepts but a passionate desire to liberate the thought of scientists and practical workers and shake the system of our rigid and insensitive dogmas. No matter how much we talk about the new thinking, it inevitably clashes with the system of "taboos" which we cannot overcome. Capitalism is bad, capitalists offer no solution, capitalism is doomed. Socialism is good, socialism is progress, the future lies with it—more socialism! But capitalism, according to the definition, is what "they" have; Socialism is what we have. The wall of these concepts-cum-injunctions rises irresistibly before us whenever we try today to resolve the questions of private ownership of the means of production and land, the creation of new laws, and the problems of the cooperative system.

The chains which have bound us since our schooldays have already become part of Soviet man's genetic code. That is why the appearance of this book is having such an effect, I believe, not just on the ordinary reader. It is hard to withstand its blow. We are not accustomed to polemics on the foundations, on the primary sources. It is good that we are discovering our weakness and helplessness in the face of the fresh, albeit even sometimes naive view of the author, who seems to have read Marx for the first time.

Marx isn't read today but S. Platonov is reading him together with us. In S. Platonov's book Marx does not oppose world philosophical thought but develops out of it. Not as a lone individual opposing all "bourgeois" culture but as one of the lofty crests of the wave of trailblazers and geniuses of mankind. After a Marx like that you can really discover Schopenhauer and Berdyayev for yourself.

Therefore, we are finally acquiring the spiritual freedom and opportunity to answer the question of our identity and place in the precise coordinates of the development of world civilization, in the concepts nurtured in the womb of culture and not in the squawking of incantations about "developed socialism."

The journal ZNAMYA has published articles by S. Chernyshev and V. Krivorotov which develop S. Platonov's legacy.

I simply wanted to draw attention to this book, one to which we are unaccustomed and which, in the way it is set out, is, fortunately, accessible to the broadest readership.

We Interview Sergey Chernyshev, President of the "Gumanus" Intellectual Club and One of the Publishers of the Book

[Chernyshev] In the seventies one of my friends, out picking raspberries out near kilometer 101, came across an electric train and saw the following faded slogan: "Communism Is Inevitable!" He sat down and began to weep. Whether he switched to the camp of reaction or immediately joined the ranks of the CPSU, nothing in this life, alas, would depend on him.

But is the opposite scenario, where everything depends on man, that good? After the revolution we began to live in accordance with the "ideas of chuche": Man is the master of everything and decides everything. After gaining political power, we entered the sweet world of normatives. The obscenity of uncontrolled development of productive forces came to an end. We have a planned economy and everything is decided by the will of the leadership class. We have no objective written law. We will ordain that all houses will have five stories, and the result will be "Khrushchev hovels." We ordain it, and the rivers will flow backward.

Stop, where does theory fit in here?

[Umnov] Did we need Marxist theory? Would we have been better off without it?

[Chernyshev] Our "social science" bears extremely remote relation to Marx. Dogma akin to religious dogma takes the place of social science.

Our teaching of social science only deals with a "collection of sacred texts," a kind of Talmud. Theory itself represents commentaries on this Talmud. A man with a normal scientific mentality who lands up in our "social science" departments involuntarily remembers Chatskiy's words:

...He who can stay with you for a day and breathe the same air will emerge from the fire unscathed, and reason will survive in him.

[Umnov] Doesn't A.S. Platonov extol Marx?

[Chernyshev] There is no doubt that Marx was a genius. A normal mundane genius. Sometimes envious, sometimes jealous, sometimes burrowing futilely deep into a subject when only a thin layer needed to be removed....

In order to get a feeling of this, it is better to read not only "Das Kapital" but also the "Das Kapital" manuscripts, where he was writing not for the readers but for himself. Instead of heart-rending descriptions of children pulling a truck or women turning to prostitution, it contains nocturnal flashes of inspiration and flights of creativity and emotion. There is nothing to deify there in the religious sense of the word. But as for the scientific....

S. Platonov sees Marx as mighty nature or the scaffolding of a splendid unfinished building within which a host of valuable treasure may be found. Our interpretation of what Marxian theory could and should be sees it as a periodic table of pure and abstract elements and formations. You do not find pure elements in nature. But you need to know this entire table in order to determine the composition of a lump of earth.

[Umnov] Feudalism, capitalism, and communism? Well, we have learned that by heart, what next?

[Chernyshev] Marx himself, whom we quote all the time, did not dream of considering communism a state of society. Not to mention considering this state as something good: "...Communism as such is not the objective of human development...."

Communism, according to Marx, is not some ideal future state of society but a whole era in the development of this society, development which destroys its present state. In itself the concept of communism makes no mention of and bears no relation at all to an ideal.

Communism is by no means commensurate with capitalism but with all history. In his book S. Platonov reminds us that Marx divided history into three eras: Prehistory (or the Realm of Natural Necessity), the Era of Communism (or the Realm of Conscious Necessity), and the Era of Humanism (or the Realm of Freedom).

Prehistory, which ends with capitalism, develops—irrespective of whether or not we try to learn the rules of society's development—by the logic of production development. There is still no freedom under communism but there is conscious necessity—the need to destroy private ownership; but this is another debate, since after all today we see this "destruction"—what Marx just described as abolition—solely as the armed expulsion of landowners and capitalists. (By the same logic suicide can be seen as destruction of ignorance). The book "After Communism" is about this.

Communism is a splendid transitional era in which there will be many formations.

All prehistory constitutes man's escape from the role of a productive force. Under contemporary capitalism man does not pump water—a pump does. It is our destiny to control productive forces while standing side by side in production relations.

But man is still a slave to these relations. The essential point is not to "improve" but to systematically and completely eliminate them, that is, for us to escape from them. They must be "forced into" the available productive forces; robot Vasya and robot Petya will remain in production relations, while we will be in human relations. They may argue, cheat one another, and administrate by decree.... I am of course exaggerating.

And then, in line with the Socratic ideal, we start escaping from the third shackle—the thrall of stereotyped social awareness. We quickly don our togas, race to the Academy, and start bitterly explaining just what Beauty and Good are and what constitutes Truth. Humanism is the Socratic world, the drama of its dialogues, and the acquisition by everyone of all the culture recorded in and shackled by concepts.

That is the scale—three epochs for escaping from three social shackles.

We have not yet gotten past the boundary between the first and second epochs.

And Socrates walks around and says: How can you go forward if you know not what Good and Truth are? And your state arguments in the squares do not get the heart of the matter. Whoever is concerned about his fellow-citizens' welfare should first seize power. The idea that, having seized power, he will do good by his fellows is an illusion, since he will have to maintain that power....

Socrates is continually condemned by his fellow citizens, thrown in jail, and killed. People in a society not yet free from the first two shackles—production forces and production relations—who say that the main thing is to determine what Truth is, should realize that they are a hostage of the Realm of Freedom imprisoned by the Realm of Necessity.

[Umnov] To be honest, many readers are probably only just starting to understand something....

[Chernyshev] If we are to be truthful, S. Platonov would have been extremely disappointed with the illiterate sentences about Marx which fill our periodicals.

For us Marx is still the unattainable pinnacle of theoretical thinking. But this is our route—the way of the cross to world culture.

The "Marxism" we teach is what Marx himself described in the words: "The only thing I know is that I am not a Marxist." But now it seems that Marx was to blame for our country's tragedy. This is the traditional Russian way of rejecting our ideals. If something has failed, it means that the theory is wrong, not us—let's get rid of it and start afresh for the umpteenth time.

We have young Marxist guys who are embarrassed to appear as such. They wear hammer and sickle jerseys in the West but feel idiotic in our country. It seems that once you're a Marxist you're virtually a Stalinist—you've read stagnant textbooks. In refined intellectual circles this is already 20 years out of date. It sets a bad tone, you can lose your reputation among philosophers straightaway.

The route via Hegel and Marx is our ingrained Russian route toward the theory of social development. Our own history provides us with no equivalent. Berdyayev, Bulgakov, and Struve passed via Marx and acquired their originality after storming that height.

If some kind of alternative to Marxism were to miraculously appear all of a sudden, I would be nothing if not happy. Because riches suitable for synthesis would then emerge.

[Umnov] You've just been defending Marxism, yet you're ready to give in to the first opponent?

[Chernyshev] The idea that there should be a uniform and imposing theory shared by all is a major oversimplification of reality, to put it mildly. Attempts to implement it have always led to great misfortune.

[Umnov] But you have also written that if we fail to recognize our own route straightaway, young people could fall victim....

[Chernyshev] My friend and co-author in everything, Viktor Krivorotov, expresses the contemporary struggle of ideas in our society thus: It is a clash between reaction and counterrevolution....

Some say: Forward, more socialism, don't import mercenary-mindedness into our country, for we won't be a United States but a poverty-stricken country with tens of millions of unemployed and we will find ourselves lagging behind the third world. Sausages will appear, of course, but you will kill all originality. We really do need an original idea....

But what sort of socialism are we talking about? The only real form of socialism known today is that in Iosif Vissarionovich's time, an archaic state form of ownership dating back 4,000 years to the third dynasty of Ur. This means that we are looking backward although in "theory" it should be forward.

Others say: Forward, toward a market economy! But I think that there is no market in the strict sense of the word, and there is a general tendency in the West for centralization in the highest forms of economic activity. (A masterpiece of planning: In the "Apollo" program 300,000 tons of regulatory documents were generated and used!).

What is proposed is also a retreat backward for us, to the past. We can burn everything which we worshiped and release the bourgeois jinni from the bottle, and if everything is successful—in the third millennium we will triumphantly enter 19th century Britain, but this is an unattainable ideal for us today. In another 50 years we will implement socialization, which today's "capitalists" embarked on back in the 30's. And our backwardness will be perpetuated.

True socialism, as we have already said, does not develop by itself but is consciously cultivated and is built on a scientific basis. This is at once its advantage and vulnerability. That is why a qualitative improvement in the theoretical sphere has to precede any practical restructuring. But alas our "theory" completely failed to foresee the forthcoming breakthrough in social development, for it was not that kind of theory. But political commentary, which has taken on the role of theory, leads us either to the future, which is the past, or to the past, which is called the future.

A theory is needed. Like we need air.

KGB Official Views Illegal Trade With Japan

90UN1176A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 4

[Report on an interview with the head of the Primorskiy Kray KGB Administration, K. Grigoryev, by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent in Vladivostok I. Kots; date not given: "A Kingdom for a Toyota?"]

[Text] **A follow-up on the previously published "They Have Lost Their Honesty and Consciousness" (12 January), "Let Us Make It Till Monday" (14 January), "How to Wave Good-bye to Ships" (18 January), "A Study of a Profitable Cruise" (25 January).**

[I. Kots] Our newspaper covered in detail all the quirks of the immense scandal in Primorskiy Kray. Our last article quoted you, Konstantin Aleksandrovich: "If the Japanese agree to comply with our wishes, we will use our channels to try to find out the real cost of the cars that were bought during the cruise." Did you find out?

[K. Grigoryev] No, we did not, as should have been expected. The Japanese are not interested in opening their cards to us. For us it sounds like a paradox that they find it more profitable to sell a used car for next to nothing than to pay a lot for parking it. For that reason car owners literally hunt down our tourists; they drive their cars onto the very pier just before the ships dock. They mark some ridiculously small sums in the receipts, in accordance with the buyers' wishes. I personally do not have any doubts that it is impossible to buy a Honda or a Toyota having just the "allowed" sum in hard currency. But here is one little comment—two small cans of red caviar sell for approximately 5,000 yen; two bottles of cognac would fetch 4,000 yen. A tourist is allowed to take these products out of the country without even declaring them at customs. The same rule affects a fur collar or earrings or rings.

[I. Kots] Could this mean that you and I are giving instructions to future buyers?

[K. Grigoryev] The truth will out. Those who want to buy a car have the "how-to" information anyway without our help. In this case it is pointless to hide or prohibit anything. The violators of moral norms, of course, should be punished and that is what the party and trade union organizations of Primorskiy Kray, Sakhalin, and Khabarovskiy Kray are now occupied with. But to me it seems a lot more important to examine the reasons and not the results of what happened.

[I. Kots] I agree. Let us descend for a while from the cruise ship deck, full of limousines, to the mundane reality on land. So perestroyka, figuratively speaking, opened the Far Eastern border, and after that....

[K. Grigoryev] ...All kinds of people rushed abroad. Not just the high-ranking officials who, by hook or crook, grab the cruise tickets ahead of the workers, farmers, teachers, or doctors. A lot more harm to the prestige and, what is more important, to the economy of our country is done by our home-bred businessmen who received the right to go independently into the foreign market. Some of them have a very vague idea of preserving commercial secrets which reigns in the world of free competition. So they readily provide very serious information to foreigners in exchange for monetary compensation. At the same time our wheeler-dealers are not embarrassed by requests which are rather far removed from commerce problems. But the "firm-dealers" from overseas who are interested in such cooperation shower our compatriots with gifts of video- and audio-electronic equipment and jewelry and provide to them various services. As the result, our country is swindled, to put it plainly.

Last year, for instance, the DalKo consortium was registered in Primorskiy Kray. Its chairman, S. Tsyganov, declared that its chief purpose was to sell fish caught by participating kolkhozes [collective farms]. However, the new businessman proved so totally incompetent that the contract prices were set unreasonably low compared to standard market prices. During his fortunately not very lengthy career, the chairman caused state and kolkhoz direct losses to the sum of about 50,000 American dollars. Lost profits amount to over 1.5 million dollars. All this basically ruined the plans for the acquisition of foreign technological equipment for the kolkhozes. At the same time Tsyganov managed to buy seven Japanese-made cars for himself and his DalKo friends. He also violated regulations by spending hard currency touring Japan. The corresponding organs are investigating the case now.

[I. Kots] What does the KGB have to do with this, anyway?

[K. Grigoryev] To protect state interests in the field of economy is one facet of our work which is becoming more and more important now. We understand that the unbalanced market and empty store shelves serve as a nutrient, a kind of yeast, which gives rise to social tensions in the country and to the activity of various extremists. We cannot tolerate the raging laxity and negligence in outside contacts. They threaten the security of the country apart from ruining it. The case of the ANT [Association of Science and Technology] concern has already been covered in detail—the concern that tried to sell tanks to a foreign country. I want to note here that this "firm" also helped create the Dalvent organization in Primorskiy Kray. Nakhodka customs recently stopped a shipment of magnesium sent by ANT to Japan. The USSR Procuracy is investigating the incident. What about the deals of Primorskiy businessmen who sell hulls of navy ships to foreign countries as scrap metal! By the way, there is a law in the United States prohibiting similar deals.

Here is the other side of the problem: We are being informed about the attempts of some foreign firms to offer intentionally unprofitable projects to Primorskiy Kray. For instance, several companies of a neighboring country wanted to initiate the construction of a major aluminum-producing plant in the kray. The idea was very actively promoted by our administrators. However, the in-depth research of the project disclosed that to make it work the project would require huge additional expenditures for power and raw materials. But the main problem lay in the fact that the project would have damaged the ecology in the taiga area. The contaminating quality of the industry is the reason why our neighbors seek to place their plants further away from their own territory. In that they are counting on Soviet incompetence, and not without proper reasons for it.

[I. Kots] But it is not said for nothing that you learn from your mistakes. If we do not learn to take risks, we will never be accepted in the Pacific market.

[K. Grigoryev] But I am not speaking in favor of binding our businessmen hand and foot with all kinds of limitations. We should not punish anyone for having initiative. But we should separate the wheat from the chaff. We in the KGB are bothered by the fact that certain administrators turn the economic market into a kind of flea market; they just aim to grab something for themselves and then let the grass grow under their feet.

[I. Kots] Maybe you meant cedar?

[K. Grigoryev] And cedar too. Just now in Nakhodka customs and state exports inspection are checking the ship "Isidor Borakhov" (port of registry Tiksi). It had on board timber addressed to Japan. The story of this cargo is almost good enough for a mystery book. Originally the cargo was meant for the domestic market. However, due to certain operations which we have not yet uncovered in full, the timber became an export item. The entry in the ship papers about the domestic destination of the cargo was simply erased.

When the people checking the papers suspected something irregular they were shown the timber export license, produced in a minute as if by magic. But this document could not stand close examination either. According to the license, the ship was loaded with "car struts and spacers"—timber waste used for frames in railroad cars. But even a superficial examination done by the state quality inspector, V. Gorbacheva, showed that almost one-fifth of the cargo was lumber wood of top quality. Customs immediately required that the whole cargo be unloaded and examined.

You cannot imagine what happened next! N. Pozdnyakov, V. Shcherbakov, and S. Nemirzhitskiy, managers of the Nakhodka timber-handling export facility of the industrial association "Terneylec," and of the Plastun timber-handling center, literally besieged the inspectors. The krayispolkom [kray soviet executive committee] followed the example of these administrators and organized an "independent" commission as they requested. However, in spite of this powerful resistance, the timber was unloaded onto the pier. The final inspection is not over yet, but the preliminary conclusions of the state inspectors have been confirmed: What is happening is the shameless and impudent sale of our unique natural resources.

[I. Kots] Several days ago I was told the same by the border guards at the Khasan station. Precious cedar wood is being sent to the neighboring Democratic People's Republic of Korea as first rate timber.

[K. Grigoryev] I have this information, too. Even more, on 20 January the manager of the "Terneyles" association, V. Shcherbakov, sent a plan of creating a mutual enterprise for logging and processing timber. The plan was not in any way discussed with the krayispolkom and it was sent to Japan with a passing ship. Cedar should have constituted 80 percent of the total timber shipments. All this is happening after the Primorskiy Krayispolkom decided to stop felling cedars as of 1 January 1990.

[I. Kots] This decision, by the way, does not quite agree with the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet to stop cutting down cedars only in the fall of 1990.

[K. Grigoryev] That is the reason why our loggers are in a hurry to take as much away from nature as possible. Last January the general manager of the territorial industrial association "Primorsklesprom," E. Grabovskiy, instructed the lespromkhoz [logging and lumbering enterprise] managers to contract teams on "stimulating" terms. The terms are as follows: If the team achieves 130 percent of the target amount during four months, they will receive three foreign-made cars, three VCRs, and other foreign-made goods worth R500. You can imagine what means are used to achieve the desired goal. What will be left of the taiga by the time the decision of the country's parliament becomes effective?

To complete the picture I want to mention also the state supplies of timber to Japan. The All-Union Association for Foreign Trade "Eksportles" is in charge of them. The volume of supplies is huge: Up to a hundred railroad car loads of timber pass through Nakhodka in just 24 hours. And practically all of this timber sails to the country of the Rising Sun without any sorting out. The Japanese do it for us and get additional profits from selling the timber as well as from follow-up supplies by the Soviet side to cover the claims. Our country is losing many millions in hard currency but it seems to be of no concern to anyone. The manager of the Nakhodka timber-handling export facility, N. Pozdnyakov, recently gave an interview to a kray newspaper. In it he complained that they did not have the conditions for resorting the timber, an operation which could have increased the inflow of hard currency several times. But it was Pozdnyakov himself who, several years ago, refused to buy the necessary equipment.

[I. Kots] Even if we take only the timber industry as an example, I get an impression that we are dealing with a very finely tuned mechanism of the "shadow" economy. Or is it just an impression?

[K. Grigoryev] You are absolutely correct. Even though we have not yet put all the investigation leads together, I can say quite definitely: The system would have fallen apart without the support of some prominent persons. And this support is being encouraged. Here is just one example. Last November the Primorsklesprom received 360 Japanese-made color TV sets. Where did they not go with the approval of the association general manager, E.

Grabovskiy: to the people from his own ministry and the local "indispensable" people. Was that why Grabovskiy was so fearless when he approved the above-mentioned talks with the Japanese firm "Nichimen Corporation"; was it because he felt strong support behind him? Eduard Frantsevich, by the way, did not forget his own needs either. Last October the Kavalerovskiy timber combine received 28 Japanese Toyota cars for its employees and Grabovskiy demanded that four of them be given to him and his friends.

[I. Kots] Here I sit listening to you and I start thinking in spite of myself: Maybe it was not worth playing liberal in foreign trade if the results have turned out to be so distressing. Maybe the "closed port of Vladivostok" should remain such until the successful completion of perestroyka?

[K. Grigoryev] You cannot make time go back. We, in the Far East, cannot hope to raise dramatically our standard of life without cooperation with the countries of Pacific Asia. But it is the people of the Far East who should get involved in the cooperation and not agencies. The agencies pursue only their own interests, which rarely coincide with those of the area. In doing this they also waste our resources. For that reason I am convinced that only the fully empowered soviets can put an end to the wasteful exploitation of this territory and block the channels of the "shadow" economy. Such soviets will always enjoy the support of the state security organs.

[I. Kots] The last thing, or what we started our conversation with: Is there a guarantee that there will be no more major scandals?

[K. Grigoryev] There is no such guarantee. I think we need to examine very thoroughly this incident of an automobile intrigue. We need to do it without haste, with the help of knowledgeable economy, politics, and administration experts. We need to divert somehow the unruly flow of unsatisfied demand into some civilized channel. We either have to buy used cars wholesale or sign contracts between the mayors of our and Japanese cities. I do not have any ready solutions, but we have to find a way out. I think this is one of most urgent problems facing the new deputies' corps of Primorskiy Kray.

[I. Kots] I want to take this occasion to congratulate you on your having been elected to the kray soviet.

[K. Grigoryev] Thank you.

Developments in 'ANT' Corruption Reported

PM2103144190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 90 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] The USSR Prosecutor's Office is investigating the criminal case of criminal abuses within the "ANT" [Avtomatika Nauka Tekhnika—Automated Machinery, Science, Technology] intersectoral state cooperative concern.

It has already been reported in the press that at the end of December 1989 12 combat tanks received by "ANT" and destined, according to preliminary data, for export abroad were detained at Novorossiysk trading port.

The investigation has established that individual officials within the aviation, defense, and radio industries and organizations versed in foreign economic activity took the law into their own hands, violated the regulations for trading on foreign markets, and created special conditions for the "ANT" concern to obtain strictly controlled materials within the country and sell them without license abroad in breach of current procedure and, in particular, USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 203 of 7 March 1989 "On Measures for State Regulation of Foreign Economic Activity," which prohibits enterprises and cooperatives from exporting military hardware and buying up and reselling abroad materials allocated elsewhere.

Dozens of enterprises and organizations found themselves within the orbit of the concern's commercial interests. Transactions were concluded to sell foreign firms goods and materials in acute short supply, including goods of strategic significance and aircraft motors for combat planes. A number of leading officials at ministries and the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission flagrantly disregarded USSR Government Order No. 924 of 30 May 1989 setting up "ANT," whereby its foreign economic transactions were restricted to the use of secondary raw materials and industrial waste products in exchange for imports of consumer goods.

The USSR Government and law-enforcement bodies have taken steps to curb the squandering of national property and violations of established procedure governing the sale abroad of military hardware and materials in short supply.

Auditing apparatus experts and specialists have been recruited to check out "ANT's" financial and economic activity and that of its numerous subsidiaries in various areas of the country.

The investigation team attached to the USSR Prosecutor's Office includes experienced investigators and KGB and USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] operational personnel.

The investigation has established all the people involved in the abuses and criminal negligence and is revealing the damage done to the state, along with the reasons for and conditions which gave rise to the serious breaches of legality and state discipline.

Soviet Property Law Applied to Foreigners

LD1603141490 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 16 Mar 90

[By TASS commentator Yuriy Stepanov]

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—The USSR property law, adopted by the Soviet parliament recently, contains a chapter which is important to foreign investors, dealing with the property of joint ventures, foreign citizens, organisations and states.

According to the law, provisions related to the property of Soviet citizens also apply to foreign citizens' property in the Soviet Union. In accordance with international practice, these provisions also apply to real estate which may be used as mortgage in investment and lending operations.

On the one hand the USSR property law enables foreign investor partners to get the necessary guarantees for their capital investments in the Soviet economy and on the other hand promotes the establishment of a developed lending system inside the country.

Further steps that will be taken soon are aimed at bringing Soviet legislation, in its provisions concerning foreign economic activities, into line with international practice.

The elaboration of a bill "on joint stock companies in the USSR" is drawing to an end. Provisions of the bill were considered in the International Chamber of Commerce and were recognised as meeting international norms.

Upon the passage of the law, business unions and associations in the USSR, including those with foreign participation, will acquire a stable legal basis. The law will also make it possible to draw the country's population into intensive economic activity through the free sale of securities to joint stock companies.

An anti-monopoly law is also in the works. It is based on the West European concept with the idea of protecting the rights of the consumer, and not competition, as is the case in the United States. Other legislative initiatives under consideration are bills on joint ventures and on foreign investments in the Soviet Union.

Such a wide-ranging approach to the refinement of Soviet legislation concerning foreign economic activities will promote the Soviet Union's involvement in the international division of labour and lead to still greater openness of the Soviet economy.

Conference Urges Debate on Rival Party Programs

PM1203162190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Andrey Illarionov report: "Conference in Akademgorodok"]

[Text] Novosibirsk—A scientific and practical conference "On the Situation in the Party and the Role of Primary Party Organizations" has been held in Akademgorodok.

Some 700 representatives of party organizations from Novosibirsk, Moscow, Omsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Kemerovo Oblast, Balkhash (Kazakhstan), and Nizhnevartovsk (Tyumen Oblast) participated in the conference.

"A renewed party of a soviet, not a parliamentary, type can and must correspond to the renewed soviets," the conference resolution records. "Of course, this does not rule out the possibility of introducing into the soviets everything vital and in keeping with the working people's interests that can be taken from experience of the parliamentary system."

The conference participants believe that the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU," reflecting the concern of many communists at the fate of perestroyka, does not countervail the draft CPSU Central Committee platform. And the precongress debate will be more fruitful if it takes the path of discussing and comparing these documents and enriching them with collective thought.

The conference participants expressed readiness to do everything to ensure that the precongress debate is active and thorough and helps to strengthen the party's intellectual prestige.

The conference's appeal to primary party organizations states: "In urging society to follow the principles of universal, equal, direct suffrage, the party must introduce them for itself." Only elections in single-seat party okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, direct suffrage with a secret ballot will ensure the representation of primary party organizations at the congress.

Plans of Social-Democrats Outlined

90UN1129A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 10, 10-16 Mar 90 p 8

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent A. Uglanov reports views of O. Rumyantsev, co-chairman of the Social-Democratic Association, under the rubric: "Over the Past Week the Editorial Board Has Received 12,516 Questions"; first paragraph is ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] *We continue to publish articles about informal organizations—their aims, tasks, and the story of their appearance. Our correspondent A. Uglanov met with O. Rumyantsev, co-chairman of the Social-Democratic Association [SDA] and candidate for RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy.*

The SDA is a social and political organization founded on a confederative principle.

The SDA consists of collective members—as a rule, at the republic and regional levels (parties, party factions, unions, associations, clubs) and individual members—independent of their membership in other political parties and their social position. In February 1990 more than 160 organizations in 100 cities expressed their desire to participate in the SDA; and the ranks continue to grow.

The goal of the SDA is to contribute to the transformation of society along principles of democracy under conditions of civil peace, national accord, and social partnership.

The constituent congress of the SDA took place on 13-14 January 1990 in Tallinn. About 280 people took part in the work of the congress, including 130 delegates from 70 organizations, 10 USSR people's deputies, and 80 observers and guests (including 20 foreign observers).

The following were elected co-chairmen of the SDA: V. Saatpalu, chairman of the Estonian Democratic Labor Party (Tallinn); O. Rumyantsev, co-chairman of the "Democratic Perestroyka" Club (Moscow); and N. Tutov, USSR people's deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet. (A week after the congress N. Tutov was expelled from the CPSU). The SDA has declared itself a corporate body and has managed to receive a round seal and a bank account.

The SDA wishes to take part in the search for a way out of the crisis as an organized political force. The members of the association are oriented primarily toward active parliamentary and municipal work, they take part in the election campaign, and they have close ties with USSR people's deputies and members of the interregional group. Seminars and circles design various laws and programs. We provide expert and intermediary aid to new social movements and initiatives. We devote a great deal of attention to international contacts—the Social Democrats may become the bridge for our return to Europe.

Proceeding from solidarity with all democratic movements, the SDA also takes part in nonparliamentary actions, considering them a form of supervision over the actions of the authorities.

The majority of the participants of the SDA live in Russia. At the decision of the January congress, preparations have begun for the creation of a Social-Democratic Party of the Russian Federation, which may occur in May or June of this year.

Two negative phenomena of the 20th century—national socialism and barracks socialism—brought too many troubles. As opposed to them, Social Democracy has never brought about dictatorship and has never resorted to violence or rule by a single party.

We are very aware of what we want and what we renounce. We also know that we are prepared to represent and defend the economic interests and political will of a specific portion of society.

In Moscow we have opened a joint executive committee of the SDA and the Moscow Social-Democratic organization for membership. We await like-minded persons who are prepared to participate personally in our common cause—restoration of the right to elections.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2062' Launched by 'Soyuz' Carrier

LD2203143190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1414 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-2062," was launched in the Soviet Union today by the "Soyuz" rocket carrier.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 88.6 minutes; apogee, 250km; perigee, 194km; orbital inclination 82.3 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The Coordinating and Computing Center is processing the incoming information.

Kazakhstan Plains To Be Cleared of Space Debris

LD1803235990 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] The Soviet Government has decided to clear the Kazakhstan plains area, where spacecraft are launched, of the debris that has fallen on the ground after the launch of rockets and the separation of the wasted stages. As a result, no less than 3,500 tonnes of metal have piled up annually there. This has been greatly damaging Kazakhstan's agriculture. A special team will be provided with necessary equipment to clear the plains of the debris by August in full.

Lenin Icebreaker's Nuclear Power Switched Off

LD2203153890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] On the atomic icebreaker Lenin, unloading of nuclear fuel has been finished, and after 30 years' of operation the main power installation has been disconnected. Now the Lenin atomic icebreaker has been transferred to the category of safe ships, but the crew continues to maintain the ship's viability. Moreover, after completing the unloading of fuel, scientific research work will be carried out on the icebreaker. It is necessary to study the state of the mechanism and technical systems which have served such a long term.

But so far the fate of the first atomic icebreaker remains unclear. As yet the Ministry of the Merchant Marine and relevant organizations have not fully decided if it will become a museum, a training center, or fulfil some other role.

Military

Defense Spokesman Criticizes Draft Evasion

LD2203115990 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—"There are no grounds for the introduction of new kinds of alternative service in the Soviet Union," Soviet Defence Ministry spokesman Lieutenant-General Franz Markovskiy told TASS in connection with the new military call-up which starts in a week.

Markovskiy said some people raise the alternative service issue in an attempt to evade general military service.

"If religious or some other reasons prevent a youth from serving, he has an opportunity to do his constitutional duty by serving the required term in military construction units," the general said.

Markovskiy recalled that service in these units is envisaged by the USSR Supreme Soviet's decree of October 24, 1967 and does not require the use of weapons or military equipment. "We know from our experience that young people, refusing to swear the military oath, served in military construction detachments and were not prosecuted."

"The opportunity to serve in military construction detachments fully corresponds with the decisions of the 1989 Paris international conference on alternative service," the general said.

Markovskiy said changes to the USSR law on general military service have already been drafted. They envisage the inclusion in the law of a new article concerning the military builders' service.

Kiev Troop Exercises Enter Third Day

LD2203181790 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Kiev Military District March 22 TASS—Active "combat operations" are continuing for the third day in the military exercises of the Kiev District. "Northern" forces, upon delivering a counterstrike, managed to stop the advance of "southern" forces along the entire front.

Upon regrouping and redeploying hardware, the defending forces launched a vigorous attack, advancing for several tens of kilometres within 24 hours and reaching the Desna River.

Today individual units taking part in the exercise began to leave for their permanent stations. The loading of hardware on railway carriages and their dispatch as well as the crossing of a waterway were watched by foreign military specialists.

Military Chiefs Sign General's Obituary

PM2203160790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Mar 90 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of M.G. Grigorenko]

[Excerpts] Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General Mikhail Georgiyevich Grigorenko, retired, participant in the Great Patriotic War, has died after a long illness. He devoted his entire adult life to selflessly serving the Soviet people and the Communist Party, which he joined in 1940.

M.G. Grigorenko was born in the village of Alekseyevka, Belokurakinskiy Rayon, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, 3 October 1906. [passage omitted]

From 1959 through 1971 he was chief of a USSR Ministry of Defense main directorate. Following his discharge from the USSR Armed Forces, he performed active public work and was engaged in the military-patriotic education of young people. [passage omitted]

[Signed] N.V. Chekov, N.S. Kovalenko, L.V. Shumilov, V.I. Ivankov, Yu.M. Ovchinnikov, S.A. Spirin, L.I. Chuyko, N.F. Shestopalov, K.M. Vertelov, N.V. Gryaznov, I.T. Chernyshov, M.N. Simakov, V.M. Zakimatov, L.N. Kotov, A.I. Borovtsev, O.A. Baykov, A.A. Makarychev, V.S. Grigorkin, N.L. Zakharov, Yu.V. Kostyuchenko, G.A. Mitlenko.

Baltic Republics

Vilnius Radio Concludes 22 Mar Council Session

Government Law Adopted

LD2203184590

Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuania at 1500 GMT on 22 March resumes its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius, after a 25-minute adjournment.

At 1500 GMT Deputy Antanavicius continues the debate on the government law. The final version of the text of Article 9 is presented.

At 1516 GMT debates on the draft law continue. Voting on individual articles of the law continues.

At 1559 GMT a vote is taken on the entire government Law: 103 deputies vote in favor; nobody votes against or abstains; therefore, the government law is adopted unanimously.

At 1603 GMT the timetable for implementation of the law is discussed. The decision is unanimously adopted to implement the law by 1 June.

At 1605 GMT Vytautas Landsbergis takes the floor to present the current political situation. He states that the new government should be formed by Monday [26 March 1990].

At 1620 GMT Landsbergis proposes Arturas Paulauskas for the post of procurator general.

Following this, discussions are held about the urgency of the formation of the government and, therefore, whether the plenary session is to take place tomorrow.

A vote is taken on the following: To work tomorrow in the select commissions from 0700 GMT and later, when the candidates for the government posts have been discussed at the commissions, to hold debates on the formation of the government at the plenary session which should begin at 1000 GMT. The motion is adopted.

At 1657 GMT Z. Vaisvila reads a decision on DOSAAF (Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy).

At 1709 GMT a vote is taken on the decision; it is adopted by a majority of votes.

At 1711 GMT "An Appeal to Nations of the World" is read, which is proposed to adopt because the danger of military intervention is impending: "An independent Lithuanian Republic has been in existence since 11 March 1990.

"Unfortunately, it is becoming more apparent everyday that another state is preparing to use armed force against the Lithuanian Republic and its citizens. In the face of this threat, we appeal, with hope, to the nations of the world, to state governments and to all people of good will, and ask them to bar, with their protests, the way to the possible use of aggression against Lithuania—a member of the world community—and its citizens. Supreme Council of Lithuania."

At 1715 GMT there is a debate on the text of the appeal in progress.

At 1717 GMT a vote is taken on the appeal: 89 vote in support; no votes against; six abstain. The appeal is adopted.

At 1719 GMT a "Statement of the Union of Lithuanian Independence" is read. The statement is signed by Viktoras Petkus. The statement expresses vigorous and resolute support for the cause of Lithuanian independence.

At 1721 GMT the session is adjourned until 23 March 1990.

Landisbergis 22 Mar Parliament Speech Reported

LD2303010390 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Professor Vytautas Landsbergis said that problem number one was the conflicting situation of Lithuania with a neighboring state that refused to acknowledge their independence. The issue of sovereignty arises, and first of all, the problem of the border arises, too: with whose borders, asked Vytautas Landsbergis? Once again it is being proclaimed that the Constitution of another state is valid in Lithuania, and what is even more shocking, the governmental bodies of this state are ordered to meddle in the affairs of a foreign state, capturing frontiers and literally hunt down people—for conscription to the Soviet Army is about to begin.

Our position, though it might result in a very unpleasant conflicting situation, should be the traditional one: calmness and public order, with additional order-keeping guards, if necessary. And, added Vytautas Landsbergis, no forceful resistance—moral and civil resistance instead. In case a tank comes to take a hunting rifle, you shouldn't fire at the tank with the rifle. We are expressing our protests in other ways, by working out official documents of protest. Only today, two of them have been worked on and sent out.

Vytautas Landsbergis stressed that was the mistake the Soviet Union made (?at) the decision that was adopted at the Third Congress of Soviet People's Deputies. We have explained the legal stance of our position as a complete unlawfulness of our opponents.

Another document was addressed to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia. It asks to explain the territorial claims that were voiced from the rostrum of the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies by a representative from Belorussia. It is inquired if this representative was authorized by the Belorussian leadership to maintain that Belorussia is going to demand the return of the territories passed on to Lithuania by earlier agreement. The letter to the chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet states that Lithuania will abide by the universally acknowledged principles of international law and the Final Act of Helsinki, reaffirming the inviolability of European borders. We hope that Belorussia, being a member of the United Nations, is also going to abide by the principles of international law set forth by the United Nations Charter and the Final Act of Helsinki, paying special attention to those decisions that guarantee the territoial integrity of states.

Chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, also (?grounded) the necessity of the appeal to the nations, governments, and people of goodwill in the world, the text of which we read a few minutes before.

Speaking on the immediate tasks of the Lithuanian parliament, its chairman stressed that it was imperative to fully form the government in the nearest future possible. To (?date), only the very top of the cabinet has been appointed: the prime minister and her two deputy premiers. According to Vytautas Landsbergis, the presence of an effective Lithuanian government was important from the international point of view, too. The world's opinion of Lithuania has started changing rapidly [words indistinct] the change was caused by Moscow's (?rude) mistake in defining policies toward Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis [word indistinct].

He also acquainted the parliament with the text of the appeal of more than 100 U.S. congressmen to President George Bush. The congressmen urged the U.S. President to declare the diplomatic recognition of Lithuania as an independent state. Yet another reason for the immediate formation of the cabinet is that the Supreme Council of Lithuania's liberation, an influential organization of the Lithuanian emigre community had raised funds of half a million dollars in support for the Lithuanian government.

Making use of the chairman's prerogative, Prof. Vytautas Landsbergis suggested a candidate for the post of the procurator of Lithuania. [passage omitted] Following a short speech by the candidate and his response to various questions put forward by the deputies, Arturas Paulauskas was appointed procurator of Lithuania by the Lithuanian parliament. Arturas Paulauskas is (?37), a graduate of the Law Department of Vilnius University.

The new procurator was appointed to speedily for yet another reason: It became known today that a team of 11 executives from the Soviet Procurator's Office is arriving in Lithuania to check on the work of the Lithuanian Procurator's Office in the new political and economic situation. Tonight an official statement of the Soviet Procurator's Office was read out on Soviet TV reasserting its readiness to strengthen procurator's control over the protection of rights of Lithuania's residents.

Now, back to the session of the Lithuanian parliament currently underway here in Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Text of Gorbachev Message to Landsbergis

LD2203183490 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Follows the full text of the telegram that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent today to Vitautas Landsbergis, president of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

"Reports coming from Lithuania show that in the republic's territory volunteers are being recruited into so-called organisations of territorial protection, which are called upon to replace the activity of frontier troops and partially of internal security bodies.

"I suggest that undelayed measures be taken to stop all actions at creating these and similar units. Please report fulfillment within two days.

"I must also call your attention to the fact that the bill 'on criminal responsibility for anti-state calls' put on the agenda of the session of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet is invalid, since establishing responsibility for state crimes is the competence of the Soviet Federation.
President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, M. Gorbachev".

Prunskiene Says Gorbachev Decree Interference

LD2203173890 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] The new leadership of Lithuania has censured Thursday's decree of the Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, on additional measures to safeguard the rights of Soviet citizens and protect the USSR's sovereignty on Lithuanian territory.

The republic's prime minister, Mrs. Kasimiera Prunskiene, described the decree as a graphic instance of what she called interference in the affairs of a sovereign state. Mrs. Prunskiene said the demand that all Lithuanian citizens hand in their firearms was an encroachment of personal property.

The presidential decree was issued in response to the adoption by Lithuania of a number of laws seen as violating peoples' rights and the Soviet Union's sovereignty.

Lithuanians Respond to Gorbachev Decree

LD2203214890 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Peter Vasilyev of our staff is here in the studio: [Vasilyev] As you may have heard in our programs, President Mikhail Gorbachev has issued a decree aimed at assuring the rights of Soviet citizens in Lithuania and protecting the sovereignty of the Republic. [passage omitted]

The measure clearly demonstrates the desire of central authorities to prevent another outbreak of violence like what occurred in the Caucasus some time ago when crowds stormed police stations to obtain firearms. I called the Interior Ministry spokesman, (Yuriy Orshinevskiy), to have his comment on this point of the president's decree: We'll take the necessary steps to confiscate all firearms for safe keeping by the Armed Forces according to the decree, he said.

The immediate response to the decree in Lithuania was a statement distributed by Western news agencies by the Republic's Supreme Soviet Deputy Algis Cekuolis who said that no weapons would be handed in. The Interior Ministry spokesman commented on that saying that was his personal point of view. However, the Ministry of Interior receives orders from the Soviet supreme body of authority. It's under the laws of the Soviet Union, not Lithuania's legislation. And if they are ordered to confiscate firearms they'll do that. The Soviet daily KRASNAYZ ZVEZDA has unveiled that police is in search [as heard] for 15,000 firearms registered in Lithuania. More from (Yuriy Orshinevskiy): We don't know where those firearms are. They may be in the republic, or outside it in other parts of the Soviet Union. We are conducting the necessary investigation to locate them, said the Interior Ministry spokesman, (Yuriy Orshinveskiy).

I also telephoned Algimantas Zukas, a spokesman for the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, to find out his response (?to the part) of president decree on arms. He said in part that he understood the reasons behind it, but thought it might lead to greater political tension, said Algimantas Zukas. On the other hand, we have all seen what could happen in a tense situation when someone has a gun within reach.

Another issue we touched upon in our telephone conversation with Algimantas Zukas was that Soviet parliament must rapidly while determining the mechanism of secession of a republic from the Soviet Union.

By the way, this idea has been expressed by quite a number of deputies. At the same time one has to see that this legislative process has been instigated by a unilateral decision of the Lithuanian parliament to break away from the Soviet Union. It was taken without proper discussion or a referendum. It's worth mentioning, by the way, that in its election pledges the Lithuanian Popular Front, Sajudis, stressed the need for a referendum on such vital issues. However, the republic's leaders, all of them founders of the Sajudis movement, do not support the idea of a referendum any longer. They are unsure at present that a majority of the republic's population will vote for seceding from the Soviet Union. Their fears are clearly behind a proposed act which the Lithuanian parliament expects to discuss next week to prohibit expressions of disagreement with the idea of secession from the Soviet Union. It says that people found guilty for calling to change the existing political system, or for plotting against the government of Lithuania, are liable to three years in custody. Those who plot, not individually but as an organization, will get up to six years in prison, as well as those who use printing equipment or the mass media to agitate against the soveriegnty of Lithuania. And those who are found guilty of such acts under aggravating circumstances, and that is in case they have ties and connection with foreign states, will get up to 10 years of imprisonment.

It's worth mentioning, by the way, that the present leaders of Lithuania view the Soviet Union as a neighboring foreign state, but the relations between the USSR and all those who wish to remain part of it, may become a criminal case according to this law. Algimantas Zukas once again: the proposed act reminds me of the notorious Article 58 in the Stalin Penal Code dropped some time ago. If such an act is adopted it will violate the basic democratic principle, the freedom of conscience. I don't think our legislature will make a wise move if it adopts such a law, said Algimantas Zukas, the spokesman for the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

A representative of the Lithuanian Communist Party which remains on the platform of the CPSU, Juozas Kuolelis, called the proposed act a gruesome violation of the Declaration of Human Rights.

Deputies React

LD2303101990 Moscow World Service in English 2210 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The situation in and around Lithuania continues drawing central attention from both the Soviet public and government bodies and officials, including President Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

In implementation of Thursday's degree of the president of the Soviet Union on additional measures to safeguard the rights of Soviet citizens, border troops have reinforced posts along the national border on Lithuanian territory, toughen the regime in border-lying districts, and taken the exit of Soviet citizens from and the entrance of foreigners into this country under more stringent controls. Organizations and individual citizens in Lithuania have been ordered to hand in all firearms. Measures have been taken to thoroughly protect various industrial facilities, including the Ignalina nuclear power station.

Lithuanians have accepted President Gorbachev's degree with different feelings. A leader of Sajudis and Deputy Premier of Lithuania, Romualdas Ozolas, had this to tell our reporter:

[Begin Ozolas recording in vernacular fading into English translation] Judging by what has been said about the Molotov- Ribbentrop pact and decided in recent weeks in Lithuania, there is no reason whatsoever for spreading the Soviet Union's sovereignty to Lithuania. The very problems that have been arising lately have to do with the Soviet Union's specific approach rather than with the future of an independent Lithuanian state. The Lithuanian authorities have been doing their best to find points of contact with the Moscow government, since they view that kind of policy as a cornerstone of their activity. [end recording]

Deputy Jankelevich of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet holds a different point of view.

[Begin Jankelevich recording in vernacular fading into English translation] I find it wrong to speak personally so I will speak on behalf of my electors. Most of the people in the Shancinian district which I represent accepted the Soviet president's decree with understanding. They are tired of living in what I call judicial chaos, when neither industrial workers nor farmers can understand which laws are operative and which are not, and which of the constitutions is currently in effect. Many are welcoming the demand that all firearms are to be handed in under the decree. We have approached the line beyond events may take a dangerous course. I think they are running too high. [end recording]

The latest reports show that Deputy Jankelevich is right in describing the situation as complicated. One can only hope that constraint and well-balanced approaches will prevail in Lithuania after all.

Lithuanian Deputies Discuss Decree Measures

LD2203235290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Report over video by correspondent V. Dvinin from the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Video shows Supreme Soviet in session] The situation in Lithuania provokes great interest both in the Soviet and the foreign mass information media. Today the journalists present at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session, including those from the "Vremya" program, were above all interested in the reaction to the decree of our country's president on additional measures for ensuring the rights of Soviet citizens, for the protection of the USSR's sovereignty on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic. Our first interlocutor is Ravualdes Khozeles, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers and a Sajudis leader. [video show Khozeles speaking]

[Begin Khozeles recording] The USSR has no grounds to extrapolate its sovereignty to Lithuania after what has been said about the Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty and after the decisions taken in Lithuania. Problems are arising not because of the issues involved in the reinstatement of the independent Lithuanian state but precisely because of the USSR's own approach to these measures. The fact that the Lithuanian authorities are constantly trying to find some possible points of contact with the USSR's authorities and to establish positive contacts with them is a result of an unconditional directive governing our activities. [end recording]

This is the opinion of a Sajudis representative. But what is the view of the Republic's Supreme Soviet deputies who are members of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform? (video shows Deputy Yankelevich, identified by caption, speaking]

[Begin Yankelevich recording] I can say on behalf of my voters—because this is the right way to speak, as opposed to expressing one's personal view—I can say that the majority of voters in Shancinian Rayon, which I represent, treats the decree with understanding. And people are fed up with living in a chaos, as far as the law is concerned, when neither the working class nor the peasantry understand which laws are valid and which Constitution is enforced. But the majority of the population in the Shancinian Rayon—I wish to stress that I am speaking about the majority—treats this decree with understanding especially in the section regarding the need to hand over arms. For we have approached the point when bad events can develop. Passions have already become heated to the limit. [end recording] [video cuts to show military man speaking on the rostrum]

At the same time, a considerable amount of weapons, guns and other machinery necessary to train Army experts, are at the command of the Lithuanian Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF] organizationns. Today General Taurinskas, the leader of that organization, was summoned to the Supreme Soviet hearings. [video cuts to show Taurinskas being interviewed in the foyer]

[Begin recording] [Taurinskas] I have received the order that everyone in civilian and all primary organizations should hand over their small caliber weapons to troop units to avoid misunderstanding or thefts of weapons, in a word, to avoid trouble.

[Dvinin] Do you know any cases when this order has not been fulfilled?

[Taurinskas] Yesterday, a Kaunas Ponevezhskiy sports and technical club failed to fulfill the order. But today three additional directives have been given. And after the decrees of our country's president had been made public, they decided to hand over their weapons. [end recording]

Prunskiene Discusses Negotiations With USSR

LD2203163090 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 1 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Deputy Chairman, LiSSR Council of Ministers, Kazimiera Prunskiene, by Violeta Griskoniene on 27 Feb, place not given: "Steps Toward Negotiations"]

[Text] A group of USSR Soviet deputies from the Baltic area and some reprentatives of the Interregional Group met on Tuesday, with USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman, Mikhail Gorbachev. Lithuania was represented at this meeting by Kazimiera Prunskiene and Eduardas Vilkas.

We asked Deputy Chairman of the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, Kazimiera Prunskiene to answer some questions.

[Question]—Who initiated this meeting?

[Answer]—A situation developed which prompted both sides to desire a meeting. True, Lithuanian deputies have not expressed this desire publicly, however, we were and continue to be interested in finding an opportunity to begin and speed up negotiations with the Union. We wished to meet with M. Gorbachev, because the Baltic representatives had presented a very clear position: the Baltic republics do not wish to and cannot accept the institution of a Soviet Union presidency, which is being drafted currently and, for this reason, their representatives in the USSR parliament refuse to participate in the deliberations on this question and adoption of decisions related to it.

E. Bickauskas presented the Lithuanian deputies refusal statement and commented on it very briefly. Estonian M. Lauristin explained her motivation somewhat differently: In some of the democratic countries of the world, the institution of the presidency functions and essentially may stabilize the situation in the country and perhaps that is being considered, but we have reason to attest, it cannot pertain to us and that is why we are not going to participate in deliberations regarding the president of the Soviet Union.

E. Bickauskas stated, it does matter to us what the Soviet Union is to become. The designation of a president effects many principal changes—government becomes more centralized. Thus we, as an entire delegation, also refuse to take part in the discussion of this question and the adoption of resolutions. Our deputies did that exactly. Naturally, we digressed somewhat from the desires of the Interregional Group of deputies, who criticize the institution itself, asserting it is not needed or is essentially in need of improvement, since it becomes a concentrated force that is too strong and that limits the USSR parliament rights and can force its way into the internal affairs of republics who have their own parliaments. The Interregional Group had hoped that being in a critical mood, we might support the most radical deputies by voting against, or at least, by abstaining (but not by absence).

Apparently, M. Gorbachev wanted to meet with us, in order to neutralize our position and to clarify what it might mean later. In his first words, he urged us not to distance ourselves from the problem in question, appealing to our understanding of the complex situation that exists in the country and convincing us that our participation has no bearing on ourselves.

M. Gorbachev let it slip: It goes without saying, some republics will be on a shorter leash, others—on a longer one, while others yet, on a totally long one and relations based upon agreements will again be renewed. At that point, I interjected with the remark, this clarifies, what is meant by the differentiation with respect to the Baltic area. Relations based upon agreements, signify existence of other agreements with the Baltic republics—not with the Union, but agreements between two countries. The 1920 and 1939 agreements establish Lithuania's difference and that should be kept in mind.

M. Gorbachev stressed the fact, there exist drafts for a mechanism for republics to leave the Union and the distribution of competency between the center and republics, and that provisions have been made to deliberate the Baltic republic Supreme Soviet decisions on 1939 agreements and the resolution of their results.

He did not deny that in discussing the above mentioned documents, a separate Baltic question might be incorporated earlier than provided for on the session's agenda.

In other words, we must formulate our negotiating position clearly. This, however, can only be accomplished by a republic parliament. Lithuania does not have one yet. Only a parliament may set up definite programs concerning the Union, in restoring Lithuania's independence. He will have to decide who will be designated to conduct negotiations with Moscow. The newly-elected Lithuanian Supreme Soviet deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies have come to the conclusion, this Wednesday [28 Feb] while examining the progress of our affairs, in Moscow, that we should grant the power to conduct negotiations to people who carry the mandate of both Supreme Soviets.

M. Gorbachev, however, did not agree to become the initiator of forming a group, or a commission to hold negotiations with us and that is why it is currently difficult to predict what the Union parliament will decide regarding this question.

[Question] Having spent a week attending the Third USSR Supreme Soviet Session, I have formed the opinion, the number of deputies who are negatively disposed toward us, has increased...

[Answer] There are some who take a very dim view of the Balts. It could be, we have even become very boring to them. Tuesday, M. Gorbachev stated that some of those occupying government, as well as Union parliament positions, are of the opinion we should be "kicked out of the Union." It seems to me, a possibility to form a commission to consider the drafts for negotiations, which we plan to present soon, could hardly be rejected. Of course, if the USSR Supreme Soviet were to vote—on whether to recognize our independence or not—perhaps many would vote against it. This is why I think this question should not be set forth for deliberation without first preparing it, or preparing it in such a manner, that it would be conducted by M. Gorbachev when he is not well inclined toward us, or by some other unfriendly person. This matter would really perish under those circumstances.

Our goal—to find a course of action and such approaches that negotiations with the Union would take place anyhow, and that they would be conducted without other republics meddling in decisions concerning our fate. They have to be based on M. Gorbachev's interests, which may depend on world opinion, that is coming into sharper focus and is acquiring the form of constructive actions—for example, the desire by US congressmen to observe our elections. Even M. Gorbachev's actions to prevent the congressmen's timely arrival, were turned in our favor: they evoked a negative reaction by the US Administration. M. Gorbachev told us Tuesday, he gave a rebuttal to G. Bush. Will such behavior, on the leader's part, serve his world popularity and trust in the Soviet Union? We reiterated several times our request for him to think over his position concerning the Baltics and suggested perhaps, it would be to his advantage to speed up negotiations with us, keeping in mind the USSR's and its Government's interests.

[Question] However, what would you do in the event M. Gorbachev still does not change his mind? We shall declare our independence. What about economic relations with the Union?

[Answer] Economic relations may continue on a slightly different basis than to date. Introduction of presidential powers renders our plans very definitive. For instance, if M. Gorbachev's presidential institution begins to function and takes root while concurrent parliaments spring up within other republics, which take over a large part of the Union's competency, including economic relations, one can expect everything to be fine. However, the president can declare an embargo on Russia's and the Ukraine's delivery of any type of goods to Lithuania. It is very risky—to depend only on the democratic movements of other republics.

It is difficult to guess what direction the balance of power will take in the republics and also, in the area between the republic push toward sovereignty and Union Government's desire to rule all the republics with their parliaments...

Lithuania's position—restoration of statehood, therefore the subject of our negotiation should not be a separate republic—Russia or the Ukraine, but the entire Soviet Union. If the republics become that independent, they will be able to cooperate with us, of their own volition and our sovereignty (alas, not total) legalization is de facto, even in the event the Union Government were to oppose this. A large number of Russian industrialists and USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies have told me: Have no fear, there will be no economic blockade and we will cooperate.

In any event, we must remain flexible. Our negotiations will depend a great deal on M. Gorbachev. A great deal of government power rests in his hands. We need to take this into account, as it would be unwise to act otherwise. I do not agree with those who deny any possibility of negotiation with M. Gorbachev and say that it is meaningless. On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the others also, especially the democratic forces in the Union, more so in view of the fact, they are closer and more useful for us as partners.

Interior Ministry Implements Security Measures

LD2303140590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Mar (TASS)—In accordance with the decision of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies on 15 March, and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree "on additional measures to guarantee the rights of Soviet citizens and safeguard the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR," [Soviet Socialist Republic] appropriate orders have been issued in the USSR Interior Ministry and passed down to the personnel of the internal affairs bodies of the Lithuanian SSR.

As was stated at the USSR Interior Ministry press center today, a plan for urgent measures to monitor the situation in the Lithuanian SSR and react to changes in it is being implemented. Groups of Ministry staff have been sent to that union republic, and a USSR Interior Ministry press center has been formed in Vilnius. Representatives of the USSR Interior Ministry have started assisting local militia bodies in confiscating arms, uncovering and investigating crimes, and safeguarding public order.

Measures have been implemented to intensify the protection of important facilities of all-union importance. Duty details, stationary posts, and mobile teams of the state automobile inspectorate on the roads have been reinforced, including in border areas.

Inspection of airline passengers, their baggage and hand luggage is being carried out in accordance with established procedure; operational groups have been set up on rail transport to check freight and people who could be carrying weapons.

Explanatory work is being carried out among the population on the voluntary surrender of firearms.

More on Security Measures

LD2303135890 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Soviet diplomatic and consular missions abroad have been instructed to begin licensing foreigners' trips to Lithuania on a case-by-case basis in order to bar access to people "inclined to engage in illegal activities," a Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS.

The Ministry's consular directorate has set up a special task force to act on the recent presidential decree on extra measures to protect the rights of Soviet citizens and the sovereignty of the USSR in Lithuania.

The decree, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev on March 21, instructed the Foreign Ministry along with the Interior Ministry "to tighten control over the issuance to foreign nationals of visas and permission to enter Lithuania".

The Polish Foreign Ministry has been notified of the temporary suspension of "simplified and visa-free procedures" for the crossing of the Soviet-Polish border by people living in Poland and Lithuania. The issuance of multiple entry/exit visas for foreigners has also been suspended.

The consular measures, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, will be implemented in close cooperation with the other relevant authorities of the USSR and Lithuania.

Lithuanian Deputies View Soviet Troop Presence

LD2303011190 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Each day now the new Lithuanian leadership is giving news conferences to home and foreign journalists. One of these press conferences was entirely devoted to the issue of the Soviet Army troops in Lithuania, as well as that of the Lithuanian youths doing their military service outside the republic.

An increased movement of armored troops was reported in Lithuania, some of them in the vicinity of the capital, Vilnius, and the second largest city, Kaunas. There are [words indistinct] paratroops [word indistinct] sent into Lithuania from the Soviet Union. Their exact number is not known, but according to Vytautas Landsbergis, Western states could render help, perhaps, on this issue. [words indistinct] deployment of Soviet troops, as well as their number is [words indistinct].

Referring to the (?special diversive) units, Vytautas Landsbergis said that (?madhats) on the part of the military was the only thing we ought to fear, but he expressed hope that (?reason) would take the upper hand.

The journalists were interested in the fate of those Lithuanian youths who had deserted their military bases and were returning home. The deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, Kazimir Moteka, a lawyer by profession, informed the reporters that no negotiations on this issue were being held with Moscow so far. He also said that the leadership of the Baltic Military District had warned and urged the desertees to report to their detachments by 24 March, otherwise measures would be taken to return them by force.

Commenting on this order by the military authorities, Kazimir Moteka pointed out that Lithuanian youths were under the protection of the legislation issued by the Lithuanian parliament.

TASS on Border, Custom Troops in Lithuania

LD2203183790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A TASS statement: In fulfilling the decree of Comrade Gorbachev, president of the USSR, of 21 March this year, on additional measures to guarantee the rights of Soviet citizens and to safeguard the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the instructions contained in the USSR Government statement of 20 March this year, the border troops of the USSR KGB have reinforced border pickets and other subunits on the state border passing through the territory of the Lithuanian SSR. The border troops are assisting customs institutions in strengthening the regime for letting people and freight through the state border. Checks on the exit of Soviet citizens from the territory of the Republic have been tightened up; measures are being adopted to restrict the entry of foreign citizens into Lithuania. Measures are being implemented to confiscate arms from organizations and the population. The confiscated arms are being handed over to military units for storage. Protection of enterprises, vital installations, and the Ignalina nuclear power station is being strengthened.

Military Society Official on Seizure of Weapons

LD2203164190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1115 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Report on questions put to Einoris, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy, at Lithuanian Supreme Council Session in Vilnius—live relay]

[Summary] After the statement by Einoris, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF], questions were put to him. He was asked how many people have been dismissed.

Einoris replied: "I could not tell you exactly. Some 15 people. Our apparatus consists of some 40 people." "You must understand, our organization is specific. About 85 percent of people employed there do not know Lithuanian as a state language. And this list includes almost all people who are Lithuanian."

"In the rayons, Comrade Taurinskas—disregarding the Presidium or the plenum decisions has no right to do this—has written, and when he says there has been a directive in writing, it is a lie. I think there is no such directive. People are phoning from all rayons saying weapons, sporting weapons, are being taken way from the farms, from organizations. They are purchased from the funds of these organizations and not from the funds of Comrade Taurinskas' organization or the ministries. Nobody has the right to take these weapons away."

Further Einoris stated that DOSAAF trains paratroopers for the assault army, experts for military schools, and they are used to get planes and gliders free of charge, but money paid for these machines was also earned by the people in Lithuania. He said the All-Union Voluntary Society at present is a true military headquarters employing 600-700 military men. This is a militarized organization which is headed by military men, generals, and colonels.

Baltic KGB Official on Border Protection

LD2303141190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Mar (TASS)—TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Peskov reports:

Lieutenant General Valentin Gaponenko, chief of the troops of the Baltic Frontier District, has described as "very timely and specific" the USSR president's decree "on additional measures to guarantee the rights of Soviet citizens and safeguard the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR" [Soviet Socialist Republic]. As is known, the decree, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, instructs "the frontier troops of the USSR KGB to adopt the measures necessary to strengthen protection of the sections of the Soviet Union's state frontier which pass through the territory of the Lithuanian SSR and to cut short illegal actions which violate USSR legislation on the USSR state frontier."

The annulment by Lithuania's Supreme Soviet of the operation of the USSR Constitution on the territory of that Soviet Republic meant annulment of Article 73, which states that defense of the state frontier comes under the jurisdiction of the USSR, the general said in a TASS interview, as he explained the frontier troops' tasks in the given situation.

In the opinion of Valentin Gaponenko the reliability of the protection of the border began to be affected primarily by such decisions of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania in accordance with which it was proposed to halt all movements of military equipment and personnel, while border troops should be on the move all the time. The general said that every day aircraft and helicopters take off and vessels and automobilies go out with duty details of border troops and special equipment to protect the borders. The message from the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has fettered the actions of the border services. "Therefore, we are not fulfilling such messages but are continuing to defend the border in the normal regime," he stressed.

In recent days, the general continued, enrollment of volunteers to defend the borders of the region has been going on in Lithuania. In essence an attempt is being made to create parallel formations to defend the borders. The attempt by the republic to use these to undertake the defense of the border without having any technical equipment, trained cadres, and all the essentials could weaken the reliability of the borders of the USSR, which we cannot permit. Valentin Gaponenko said that this could lead to undesirable consequences as there are on the territory of the Republic many classified and defense facilities. It is possible that there may be, for example, extremist actions on the border and attempts to undermine the border regime and the normal maintenance of the engineering constructions.

Speaking about the actions of the border troops in these conditions, Valentin Gaponenko reported that at the present time the border duty details have been reinforced "numerically and with equipment from the reserves of the district." Also, a number of measures have been carried out for the strict maintenance of order on the border, the observation of the normal regime, and the prevention of the destabilization of the situation. Measures have been taken to maintain normal relations with adjacent countries and to ensure the normal functioning of crossing points. Measures have been outlined to explain to the population of the border regions that decree from the president of the USSR.

According to Valentin Gaponenko there has been, of late, a decrease in the influx of foreigners in the Lithuania direction.

Lithuanian Party Discusses Supreme Soviet 'Coup'

LD2203202490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Vilnius, 22 Mar [no TASS attribution as received]—A TASS correspondent reports: The fourth plenum of the provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (on the CPSU platform) has adopted a statement, which states, among other things:

"The plenum of the provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (on the CPSU platform) notes that the adoption by the republic's Supreme Soviet of a package of documents on the issue of the "Restoration of an independent Lithuanian state," and on the revocation of the action of the Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and of the USSR Constitution on the Republic's territory signifies a reactionary coup d'etat and an infringement of the Soviet social system. This will lead to a further changing of political tension in Lithuania, an undermining of the integrity of the Soviet socialist state, and a complication in international relations in Europe and in the security throughout the world.

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's orientation toward the Republic's secession from the USSR accords with the interests of anti-socialist forces who oppose the revolutionary perestroyka of Soviet society. Forging ahead with the drafting and implementation of anti-Soviet plans is harming the economic and political development of the Republic, aggravating social and interethnic relations, undermining the democratization of public life, and posing a threat to the Republic's sovereignty. The steps being undertaken by the Lithuanian leadership to undermine the Republic's economic links with the USSR's national economic complex entail dire consequences for the well-being of the peoples of Lithuania.

The Lithuanian leadership is continuing along its path of confrontation with the USSR president, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government. The Republic's Supreme Soviet is forming state structures which run counter to the USSR Constitution. Simultaneously, work has begun on the creation of national military subunits, and all anti-Soviet elements have stepped up their activities.

At the same time, the administrative bodies of the Lithuanian SSR have virtually ceased their activities in defense of the constitutional rights of USSR citizens living in the republic. A draft law on instituting criminal proceedings against citizens for activities aimed at keeping Lithuania within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been presented for consideration by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

The plenum of the provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania fully endorses the decision of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies in connection with the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, and appeals to the USSR president and the Soviet Government to strictly monitor the implementation of that decision.

At numerous rallies and assemblies the working masses of Lithuania are expressing support for the Soviet authorities and the socialist choice, protesting plans to restore the capitalist system, and demanding an end to the encroachments on citizens' constitutional rights. In upholding the socialist interest of the working people of the Lithuanian SSR, the Communist Party of Lithuania (on the CPSU platform) calls all inhabitants of the republic to conduct active and resolute political action in defense of their legitimate rights, and to protect and augment the values of socialism."

Lithuanians Ordered To Carry Out Union Laws

PM2303102390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 Second Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] The USSR Prosecutor's Office has recently been receiving numerous complaints from working people and war and labor veterans living in the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] about blatant violations of socialist legality and infringement of their rights and legitimate interests. Concern is expressed in connection with the growth in crime and the failure to adopt the necessary measures to solve major crimes. Citizens are particularly concerned about the illegal actions of extremist nationalist groups accompanied by abuse of certain officials, the Soviet Army, and state organs. These actions are bringing about an atmosphere of permissiveness and irresponsibility.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium notes that the Republic's law enforcement organs have relaxed their attention to questions of upholding the law and safeguarding law and order and are displaying a lack of resolution in protecting citizens' rights and putting a stop to lawbreaking, criminal infringements, and manifestations of extremism. Certain prosecutors have found themselves incapable of implementing their powers of supreme oversight over the upholding of the law, are displaying an unprincipled attitude, and have adopted a passive position.

The collegium demanded that Republic Prosecutor V.Yu. Barauskas and all workers in the Republic Prosecutor's Office organs unswervingly carry out the duties entrusted to them by the USSR Constitution and the the USSR Law on the Prosecutor's Office in ensuring oversight of the accurate and uniform execution of laws by all ministries, departments, organizations, officials, citizens, and social formations in the Lithuanian SSR irrespective of local organs, being subordinate in their activity to the USSR prosecutor general alone. Instructions were given to strictly observe the demands of Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, which lays down that Soviet laws have equal force on the territory of all union republics and, in the event of a union republic's law differing from an all-union law, the USSR law applies.

Implementing oversight of the execution of laws in the Lithuanian SSR, staffers at the Prosecutor's Offices of the USSR and the republic should proceed in their activity on the basis that the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies declared null and void the legislative acts adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on the "Restoration of an Independent Lithuanian State" and on the repeal of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution on the republic's territory.

It was proposed that measures be taken to reliably protect citizens' rights and interests, that the force of the law be firmly and uncompromisingly brought to bear on criminals and those who are whipping up interethnic strife and flouting the interests of the Soviet state and society, and that a resolute stop be put to the attempts to dissuade certain citizens from performing their military service in the Soviet Army.

It was decided to provide skilled practical help in organizing work to strengthen oversight by the prosecutor's office of the observance of legality and to step up the fight against crime in the Lithuanian SSR.

Present Calm in Vilnius 'May Prove Deceptive'

*PM2203223390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 90 First Edition p 3*

[Report by own special correspondent Yu. Shabanov under the "USSR: Our Common Home" rubric: "Ban on Glasnost?"]

[Text] People speak Russian in Vilnius. They do so not in a whisper, but in a normal voice, without glancing sideways for fear of being fined for this or deprived of their citizenship. Life takes its measured, calm course. It is, in any event, outwardly calm and measured. The uproar of rallies for and against the decisions of the Republic Supreme Soviet has died away, and political passions are again channeled through parliamentary debates. No trace of the rally battles remains on the streets. There is the air of the normal everyday life of a metropolis.

And yet, and yet... This beautiful city, which I know well from previous assignments, has changed in some indefinable way. Either the day was gloomy and cold or people's expressions had changed somehow. But in what way? Ah, that's it! There were almost no smiling or laughing people on the streets. Lithuanians are in general emotionally reserved, so why be surprised? However, this was not just reserve. The passers-by had a look of concern, one might even say, anxiety on their faces. The initial euphoric sense of joy which gripped many people here after the proclamation of an independent and autonomous republic by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet seems to be being replaced by a deeply thoughtful mood: How is life to go on and what will the freedom that has descended not from the high heavens but, more accurately, from the heights of the parliament, bring? In the words of Vysotskiy: "Yesterday I was given freedom, what do I do with it now?" People are difficult to fathom. It is easy to proclaim autonomy, but unless you have long negotiations you cannot avoid upsetting economic and political interests.

It must be frankly said that the opinion that it is necessary for Lithuania to withdraw from the USSR is shared by a large section of the Republic's inhabitants. And yes, a people does indeed have the right to decide its own destiny.

Only it is somewhat strange, in our view, that the champions and opponents of secession find themselves enjoying far from equal conditions, even from the material standpoint. We visited the building of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform) and were struck by its truly poverty-stricken state. A few rooms in the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Party Committee building: one typist and a lousy transport situation. People are effectively working on a voluntary basis, as the savings banks won't let party subscriptions be paid. Communists on the CPSU platform do not have their own republic publication. The large-circulation publication VMESTE I NARAVNE [Together and on a Par], which supports them, comes out irregularly and is published in... Belorussia. Sajudis, which is in power, has not found the opportunity to print the newspaper in the republic, although it has dozens of publications of its own. True, we were told that an accord on publishing the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA—the new organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform) Central Committee—may soon be reached.

Where, then, is the democracy and pluralism of opinions for which Sajudis so passionately struggled before its accession to power? Are democracy and glasnost only for Sajudis? It would appear very much that way. The newspaper VALSTEGYU LAYKRASHTIS published not long ago a reader's letter where the following lines featured: "We can clearly see that the Sajudis parliamentary deputies are dictating their will on the people of Lithuania and we have a sense of well-justified alarm that they could usurp all power in Lithuania and do what they fancy rather than what the people of Lithuania expect."

The correctness of this view was unwittingly corroborated by Landsbergis himself when, during a Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session, he really hauled the republic television service over the coals for not having had the good sense to stop a Central Television broadcast on a 200,000-strong rally in Vilnius in favor of developing a sovereign Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] within the framework of the USSR.

Yes, people do differ in their opinions. Some (the majority) see the events taking place in the republic as a "velvet revolution" and support it, others describe what is happening as an anticonstitutional coup [perevorot]. How the situation develops next is for the inhabitants of the republic themselves to decide. But there is no point here in driving the so-called minority into a corner. That will only worsen the situation. Resistance is already clearly to be seen right now. Sajudis has announced the mustering of volunteers into detachments to protect the homeland. Workers' militia to protect property are being set up in large enterprises where the Russian-speaking population predominates. And there have been two more attempts to attack weapons and combat equipment depots. The unknown attackers escaped. We know from the tragic examples of the southern republics what such confrontation can suddenly bring. So the present calm on the streets of Vilnius could be deceptive...

Vilnius Radio Describes Situation as 'Stable'

*LD2303100390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
0800 GMT 23 Mar 90*

[Text] In spite of contrary information arriving in Lithuania through the channels of TASS, the situation in our country is stable. Normal working rhythm prevails in all aspects of life. All enterprises, offices, and production collectives are working. Planned cultural events are taking place.

Landsbergis Says TV Relay 'Propaganda'

LD2203114890 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 22 Mar 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, speaking at a session of the Lithuanian Republican Supreme Council, has described Central Television's relay of the Vilnius meeting—held on Sunday, when its participants demanded a nationwide referendum on Lithuania's secession from the USSR—as propaganda for the purpose of destablizing the situation in Lithuania and escalating tension.

Sajudis Reports on 'Kidnapped' Vilnius Soldier

LD2303093390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] The Sajudis Information Agency reports:

Vilnius: On 22 March, representatives of the Soviet Union's Army violated the norms of international law. Vidas Valancius, who had just returned from the Soviet Union's military unit stationed in Estonia, was kidnapped on the street.

Procuracy Demands Application of Rule of Law

LD2203155290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1441 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—The Collegium of the USSR Procuracy has demanded that employees of bodies of the Lithuanian Procuracy adopt measures that will reliably protect the rights and interests of citizens, firmly apply the rule of law to those who incite interethnic disagreement and trample on the interests of the Soviet state and society, and suppress the evasion of military service in the Soviet Army.

A report by the Collegium of the USSR Procuracy, which has been circulated here today, notes that numerous complaints are coming in from citizens that live on the territory of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] about encroachments upon their rights and lawful interests. The illegal acts of nationalist extremist groups, accompanied by insults aimed at individuals, the Soviet Army, and state bodies, create an atmosphere of everything being permissible, an atmosphere of irresponsibility, and are causing particular alarm among citizens.

The Collegium demands that employees of the Republic's Procuracy unswervingly execute their duties in ensuring the observance of laws by all organizations, citizens, and public formations in the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of any kind of local bodies, and that they obey only the USSR Procurator General in their work. Instructions have been given to strictly observe the demands of Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, which establishes that USSR laws have equal force on the territories of all union republics.

A decision has been adopted to give qualified practical assistance in organizing work to strengthen the supervision by the Procuracy of the observance of legality, and to reinforce the struggle against crime in the Lithuanian SSR.

New Lithuanian Procurator General Appointed

LD2203164290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Summary] Vytautas Landsbergis proposed Arturas Paulauskas for the post of procurator general of the Republic of Lithuania; 98 voted in favor, and one abstained.

Arturas Paulauskas was appointed procurator general of the republic.

Lithuanian Party Official on Pluralism

PM2203110190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Mar 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with V. Shved, second secretary of the Provisional Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform), by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel I. Sas; date, place not given: "We Cannot Stay Silent and Inactive"]

[Text] [Sas] The week which you have spent in Moscow, Vladislav Nikolayevich, has been unprecedentedly full of political events. The CPSU Central Committee plenum, at which you spoke, the extraordinary Congress of Soviets [as published], the election of the president... Could you compare the mood in which you came here with that in which you are leaving...

[Shved] I would add that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet was also in session. It was while we were here in Moscow that we learned of the decision to rename the republic, to return to the 1938 Constitution, and much else. Of course, this did have a depressing effect on many people, I believe,.

But this week has changed the mood of many people both in the union generally and in Lithuania, and the mood in particular of everyone who followed with alarm the development of events in our republic. We saw the clear, consistent, and constructive stand of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies with regard to those events. The right of any nation to self-determination has once again been confirmed and, at the same time, it has been declared that it can be realized only in full accordance with the law and only with a full guarantee of protection for the legitimate rights of every person living in Lithuania.

This stand puts everything in its proper place: The USSR Constitution operates on the republic's territory, as do Soviet laws, and Lithuania remains an inalienable part of the USSR. If the question of secession is to be resolved, it will only be on a lawful basis, taking account of the interests of the union and all the republics, just as is usual in the civilized world. And I must state frankly that this has increased confidence in the future for many of my fellow countrymen.

[Sas] In letters, telephone calls, and telegrams to the editorial office many of our readers voice solidarity with and moral support for the communists of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform). And they ask us to describe what life and work are like for them.

[Shved] It has to be stated bluntly that life and work are complicated for them. I am not given to complaining, but I will cite a very recent example. I recently appeared on Central Television under the "Topical Interview" rubric. In a very calm and restrained tone I expounded my opinion and my colleagues' views on the processes taking place in Lithuania. That is my lawful right. But I have learned that my appearance elicited such a stormy reaction in the republic that V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, demanded at the session that proceedings be instituted against me.

For two years in a row many of those who are today sitting on the republic Supreme Soviet did everything to discredit the CPSU and Soviet power and to undermine our state foundations—this was, it is to be supposed, within the framework of pluralism. On the other hand, any stand that does not coincide with that of "Sajudis" elicits just one reaction—political badgering. This is the apology for pluralism that you end up with.
nactive on seeing where the republic is being led by its present leadership. We directly and openly raise the question of defending socialist foundations in Lithuania, because the restoration of capitalist relations is taking over increasingly broad spheres. There is no getting away from this fact, although for a long time political camouflage was used to cover up this course. They said one thing but did the opposite. And now some people are also claiming, for example, that the proclamation of an independent Lithuania certainly does not mean a break with the USSR or any confrontation. But take a sphere that would seem to be the furthest removed from politics—sport. "Zhalgiris" is refusing to compete in the USSR championship. Lithuania is closing its territory to the artistic gymnastics championship. Well, is that what Lithuania's sportsmen need? No, it is a real continuation of its present politicians' separatist course.

Behind the words about maintaining ties with the union there lies a tough, strong-arm policy of closing borders and introducing checkpoints. "Regional defense detachments" are now being formed. In Vilnius you can see notices urging young men between the ages of 19 and 40 to join these detachments.

Is that not unconstitutional? But the republic Prosecutor's Office appears not to see all this.

The political badgering of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) is proceeding openly and on a grand scale. Press organs go so far as to call us "gravediggers," a "fifth column," "CPSU-ites," etc. Demands are being heard at the Republic Supreme Soviet for the party to be declared criminal and to be banned.

[Sas] Does the "enemy image" stick?

[Shved] That too is very dangerous. In my view, there is one conclusion: Now, following the change in Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, the country needs a Law on Parties. Our activity must have reliable legal protection. Nevertheless, there is no confusion, still less panic in our ranks. Even in this situation we are trying to move toward a dialogue and are ready for constructive cooperation.

[Sas] Addressing the CPSU Central Committee plenum, M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the provisional Central Committee, declared: The party will live and act even under the most difficult conditions and will uphold the socialist path of Lithuania's development. Tell me, what makes you so confident?

[Shved] A sense of being right. It is absolutely clear to us that the political choice for which the republic's present leadership is headed will bring the ordinary working person nothing but suffering. I do not wish to go into economic calculations, historical digressions, or political parallels. I will say one thing: We believe in renewed socialism and are convinced that this is the only way in which we can emerge from the crisis. And only as a part of the USSR. Backing down would mean betraying the interests of the people who are behind us...

[Sas] What is your relationship with the military?

[Shved] I speak with sincere regret, but military people have ended up in profound political and moral isolation in Lithuania. The entire policy and tactic of our provisional Central Committee proceed from the premise that the Army is an inalienable part of our society and that questions of defense capability are among the most important today. And we seek to do everything to ensure that the Army and servicemen's families feel our support, are represented in all our organizational structures, including the Central Committee, and participate in all our actions. For us, Army communists are people on whom we can rely.

[Sas] At the CPSU Central Committee plenum you raised sharply the question of sharing the CPSU's property with the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

[Shved] For us, this is not an interparty squabble but a vitally important question. It so happens that something like 98 percent of the former Lithuanian Communist Party apparatus went over to the so-called independent Communist Party and automatically retained the buildings and everything else. And we were left with nothing. Not even our own mass media. And this is tantamount to being left without a voice. When it is a question of influencing people and public opinion, this means an awful lot.

[Sas] Vladislav Nikolayevich, today people are greatly interested in those who head the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform)...

[Shved] The provisional Central Committee is headed by Dr. of Historical Sciences Prof. M. Burokevicius. He is a man of great erudition and a very awkward figure for our constant opponents, because in his presence they find it hard to tailor Lithuania's history to fit the political situation. In a few words, he is a firm party member.

There are two secretaries in addition to ourselves—Yu. Koulelis and V. Kardamavichyus...

[Sas] Pardon me, but you have said nothing about yourself.

[Shved] I was born in Moscow in 1944. In 1947 my father and the family were sent to Lithuania, which became my homeland. My father died of wounds received at the front, and so I had to work virtually from the age of 12. Life taught me everything—to plow and be a carpenter. After graduating I worked in a plant. My latest post was as first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party's Oktyabrskiy Rayon Committee in the city of Vilnius. I am married, with a son of 14.

[Sas] Do you speak Lithuanian?

[Shved] The whole family does. There are no problems with that. In general I must say that I have never felt a foreigner here and there are splendid people here. However, Russians have recently begun to be "presented" as though they are against the good of Lithuania. But the whole question is: Where does its good lie? In secession? The whole world is seeking forms of unification in order to add together potentials and secure advantage. In our case the opposite is happening. There is ever-increasing discussion of our republics' sovereignty. And something else has been forgotten: What will it be worth, if we do not ensure the sovereignty of each human individual?

I believe that people will gradually get away from the rally euphoria. Today many people in Lithuania are already thinking seriously about these questions: Where to go? With whom to go?

USSR Citizens Committee Formed in Lithuania

LD2203182990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Presenter] A Committee of USSR Citizens [Komitet Grazhdan SSSR V Litve] has been founded in Lithuania. Our special correspondent Valentin Dvinin interviewed Professor Yermalavichyus, a member of the Committee:

[Begin recording] [Yermalavichyus] The Committee comprises workers, managers of enterprises, members of the intelligentsia—people of various nationalities: Lithuanians—I'm a Lithuanian myself—Russians, Poles, and other nationalities. The main feature of our Committee and of the whole movement is that we uphold the interests of the working people—USSR citizens living in Lithuania—and those of their constitutional rights that were also endorsed in the decision of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies, in connection, moreover, with the decisions of the Republic's Supreme Soviet on the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state and on the cessation of the operation of the Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the USSR Constitution on the Republic's territory. It is mainly our Committee that is supporting that decision.

[Dvinin] Tell us about the reaction to the Committee in the Republic.

[Yermalavichyus] People—working people, laborers, collective farmers—welcomed the very idea of the Committee, in general, with goodwill and with interest, because now, in connection with the decisions of the Republic's parliament, many rallies and gatherings are taking place at enterprises in various towns and on the republic's farms, and they are tackling the questions of what is to happen and how we are to defend ourselves and our rights and interests, and precisely the need for our movement and our actions will, of course, grow. [end recording]

Article Describes Landsbergis' Family Background

PM2303001190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Mar 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel S. Pashaev: "The Events in Lithuania: The Protagonists. The Logic of Secession"]

[Text] The sharp political turn executed in Lithuania by local deputies raises a lot of questions. First and foremost about the people themselves. Who are they? Could you please describe Landsbergis and Ozolas, who have headed the "quiet counterrevolution," as the current events in the Republic were described by the participants in Sunday's rally in Vilnius, which involved many thousands of people.

Senior Lieutenant N. Nabiyev, Dnepropetrovsk

(One of the questions put to the "Feedback Telephone" duty officer) [Reference to occasional KRASNAYA ZVEZDA feature of the same name where prominent figures answer questions asked by readers].

The recent events in Lithuania, which worry and alarm many of our readers cannot, I think, altogether correctly be considered as a "sharp political turn" determined solely by the results of the recent elections to the republic Supreme Soviet and the appearance at the helm of power of representatives of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka (Sajudis). Nor likewise can the avowed precepts of that movement's program be considered as embodying the "initiative of the people in support of perestroyka initiated by the CPSU." The stances and plans of the leaders were formed long before the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka officially came into being and were nourished by ideas very remote from the aspirations to "create a socialist rule-of-law state." It is simply now the time to implement them and put them into practice.

Of course, the "number one figure" in the present leadership of Lithuania is Vitautas Landsbergis, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet and chairman too of the Sajudis Seimas Council.

He is a Lithuanian, not a party member, a professor at the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] State Conservatoire, a member of the Lithuanian Composers' Union, and a people's deputy of the USSR. Landsbergis was born into a family of employees in 1932, received a classical musical education, and has worked as a music school teacher, concertmaster, and conservatoire lecturer.

However, his specific education did not protect his childhood and youth from the political storms of our time. The point is that Landsbergis' father, Vitautas Zhemkalnis-Landsbergis was far from being an apolitical "employee," but had, on the contrary, very clear political sympathies, which he never concealed. And that included not concealing them from members of the family.

History has preserved a very telling document on this score, dated 25 June 1941, that is to say, the fourth day of the Great Patriotic War, entitled "Address to the People by the Independent Provisional Government of Lithuania," signed by the "provisional government" minister of municipal services, Landsbergis Senior.

"The Provisional Government of Lithuania," the message reads, "is grateful to the savior of European culture, Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler, and his valiant Army, which has liberated Lithuanian territory."

Clearly the course and outcome of the war were bound to have an effect upon the destiny of the minister for municipal services, under whose jurisdiction, among others, came questions concerning the construction of concentration camps on Lithuanian territory occupied by the fascists. In 1944 he, along with his son Gabrielyus and his daughter Alena, was forced to flee to Germany, from where he returned only in 1959. His son and daughter have not returned to the USSR, having settled in Australia, where they have actively cooperated with reactionary Lithuanian emigres.

Of course, the present chairman of the Republic Supreme Soviet expresses no solidarity with the views of those of his relations who sympathized with fascism. We are talking here merely about the environment in which he spent his young years. As far as Landsbergis' own position is concerned, that can be judged by the line he pursues today in his role as head of the Republic. And, of course, by the numerous interviews and speeches at rallies, in the press, and on television. Unknown, as they are, to the broad circle of our readers, they will clearly not be without interest to them and will make it possible for them to judge for themselves the nature and the logic of the changes which he is making in the republic.

On self-determination:
"Our goal is to create social and political conditions for true self-determination, but for real independence certain conditions have to be created, developed, or won [otvoyevan]..."

"We should not ask for that which is ours. Requests create the false impression that people outside Lithuania can lawfully authorize or not authorize things for Lithuania."

Democracy is in jeopardy. A new fascism threaens us..."

"...U.S. assistance to Lithuania at international forums is not enough... it is now time to help us restore the independence of our state. Both Sajudis and I are seeking this."

On the Army:
"We consider the Soviet troops on Lithuanian territory to be an army of occupation. That is why we demand the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from the Baltic states and the creation of our own national Armed Forces on our territory."

On the non-Lithuanian population:
"Independent Lithuania will have to tackle the problem of non-Lithuanian elements, particularly Russians. The root of the problem... is that the majority of the Russians... are not representatives of the intelligentsia. Russians have for centuries been consumed with messianic ideas about Russia's role..."

"There is also a section of the Russian or Russian-speaking population in Lithuania which has still not realized the correctness of such a choice and elects for the time being perhaps to resist the Lithuanian revival movement and the movement toward Lithuanian independence."

"When... an ideal is turned into an instrument of the power struggle it degenerates, becomes a cover for unseemly deeds, and moreover blocks the way of other ideals, declaring them to be criminal and inimical. The predominant ideal then becomes a cult."

While agreeing in principle with Landsbergis' last thought, it is worthwhile, I think, to say a few words about his team. In particular about the number two figure in the Republic's present leadership—R. Ozolas, who has become the deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. He is a Latvian and was the deputy chief editor of the Mintas publishing house, editor of the Sajudis newspaper ATGIMIMAS, and a people's deputy of the USSR. He has left the CPSU.

Ozolas on the whole shares the views of his patron although frequently he is more frank in his pronouncements and does not care, unlike Landsbergis, about the impression which he produces. This applies in particular to his revelations about plans in the sphere of economic and nationalities policy. The aim of the economic changes, Ozolas thinks, is to "reorient economic links away from unconditional dependence on the East toward more productive dependence on the West." The consequences of this do not frighten him insofar as "the West is interested in relatively high skill and cheap work, while Lithuania, even in the period of stagnation, did not lose its work habit and hopes to receive from the capitalist sharks more than it now receives from its socialist friends."

Ozolas does not conceal his feelings toward Russia and the Russian people and at some moments he clearly goes beyond what is generally accepted and considered correct in the civilized world. In so doing his revelations are sometimes extremely reminiscent of, for instance, the utterance by another of his fellow Balts—Tiit Maade—which caused such a stir. Thus, when commenting on an interview about the Chernobyl tragedy, he observed in the magazine PERGALE that "this is an indictment of Russian dull-wittedness, lethargy, shortsightedness, and many other features of the nation's character."

Arguing in the same magazine about Stalinism, Ozolas plainly and simply traces its sources back to the same distincive national features of the neighboring people: "Why was Stalin possible? You cannot answer this question without asking whose need he filled. To a Russian, working used to be worse than death... The Russian always liked to live beyond his means. Stalin, with his concept of world revolution as a war on alien territory, materialized the illusion of living beyond one's means in such a way that things could not have looked better."

Of course, the views of the authors of the utterances cited should in no way be attributed to the whole Lithuanian people. The ideas of perestroyka and renewal which accord with the interests of the inhabitants of Lithuania have been skillfully used. The inertia, slugghishness, and political myopia of those who could and should have told the people the truth in good time, and who should have opened their eyes to the fact that they were being manipulated, also took their toll. They should have been told the truth about the fact that it is a question not just of revising a series of provisions of the USSR Constitution and of the Lithuanian SSR's Constitution, but in fact of a renunciation of these Constitutions, of a replacement of the political system, and of a return to the 1938 document with all the ensuing social, economic, and other consequences.

It is difficult to rectify mistakes. But it is very important to draw conclusions from them. The idea that was voiced at the Sunday rally in Vilnius that in some regions of the country some people today are not averse to embarking on the path trodden in the Baltic is most topical and it gives a great deal of food for thought.

Ukrainian Appeal Adopted Supporting Lithuania

LD2303094690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] The Sajudis Information Agency reports:

Lvov: A meeting organized by the committee for the defense of citizens rights was organized here on 21 March. Scores of thousands of people gathered to express their solidarity with the Lithuanian state. The meeting adopted an appeal to the Ukrainian people and a resolution of solidarity. The resolution states: The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, implementing the will of the Lithuanian nation and realizing the right of every nation to self- determination has proclaimed the restoration of the independent Lithuanian state. Historic justice has thus been restored and the decisions of the illegal occupation bodies have been abolished. The present imperial Moscow government does not agree to reconcile with freedom of the Lithuanian nation. Threats and blackmail can be heard from Moscow addressed to the Lithuanian people. The participants in the meeting state:

1. Complete support for the determination of the Lithuanian people to secede from the Soviet Union's prison of peoples.

2. They express their indignation at the shameful decision of the Third Congress of People's Deputies concerning Lithuania.

3. If repressive measures are taken against the independent Republic of Lithuania we will start poltiical protest strikes.

4. We invite all Ukrainians who reside on the territory of Lithuania to implement only the decisions and orders of the authorities of the Republic of Lithuania, and not be blind tools in the hands of the Moscow imperialists.

An appeal to the Ukrainian people has been adopted, too: [It states] A decisive time has come for the struggle of the enslaved nations for freedom and independence in the last world empire, the Soviet Union. The establishment of independent states of the Soviet Union's nations has become the most important condition, not merely for the creation of better living conditions and the development of the nations, but also an essential condition for biological survival. The Ukraine is not an exception. It is facing the threat of complete extinction if it does not liberate itself from the colonial yoke. The first swallow which has escaped from the imperialist prison is Lithuania. The heroic and small nation of that country has demonstrated great political maturity and national consciousness. Lithuania today demonstrates to all nations of the empire the best method of restoring an independent state. The collapse of the empire is unavoidable. But how will it happen—in a civlized peaceful way or accompanied by violence and chaos? This will depend on whether we will be able all together to defend the Lithuanian nation from imperialist coercion.

By demonstrating solidarity with the Lithuanian people we struggle at the same time for our freedom. Ukrainians, remember that freedom is indivisible! The front line of the struggle for freedom is today in Lithuania. We will not allow Moscow's imperialists to stamp down the young Lithuanian state. We invite all the inhabitants of the Ukraine and the working collectives to take up a conscious civic position of soldiarity with Lithuania. If military intervention and the use of force starts against independent Lithuania, we will reply to this with an organized mass political strike. Imperialist hands off Lithuania! Long live the independent Republic of Lithuania!

Lithuanian Election Results by District

90UN1175A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 Mar 90 pp 1-3

[Unattributed article: "At the Republic Electoral Commission: Election Results for Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Which Occurred on 24 February 1990. Published Based on District Electoral Commission Records"]

[Text]

***Pilisskiy Electoral District No. 1**

Total Number of Voters		18,795.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,611.
Number of Invalid Ballots		228.
Candidate	For	Against
Yan-Petr Matskevich	2,927	9,456
Rolandas Povilenis	3,880	8,503
Vladas Terletskas	5,266	7,117

Antakalnskiy Electoral District No. 2

Total Number of Voters		25,348.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,711.
Number of Invalid Ballots		225.
Candidate	For	Against
Algirdas Kasperunas	1,904	13,582
Sergey Nagornyy	3,078	12,408
Aloizas Sakalas	10,052	5,434

Aloizas SAKALAS, professor at Vilnius University, Vilnuis, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

***Zhirmunskiy Electoral District No. 3**

Total Number of Voters		17,745.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,115.
Number of Invalid Ballots		225.
Candidate	For	Against
Vladimiras Grazhulis	3,843	8,047
Lyudvikas-Saulyus Razma	3,944	7,946
Gennadiy Tarasov	3,868	8,022

Zhalgirisskiy Electoral District No. 4

Total Number of Voters		22,133.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		16,049.
Number of Invalid Ballots		428.
Candidate	For	Against
Vityanis-Povilas Andryukaytis	9,215	6,406
Viktor Arsenyev	3,753	11,868
Vitautas Lyutikas	1,218	14,403
Genrikas Yatskyavichyus	1,047	14,574

Vityanis-Povilas ANDRYUKAYTIS, a doctor at Republic Vilnius Clinical Hospital, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

***Vyarkyayskiy Electoral District No. 5**

Total Number of Voters		19,297.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,014.
Number of Invalid Ballots		634.
Candidate	For	Against
Mikhail Alekseyev	2,033	9,347
Algimantas Arnastauskas	111	11,269
Konstantinas-Romualdas Dobrovolskis	1,095	10,285
Feliks Drozd	1,106	10,274
Lyaonas Kaletinas	123	11,257
Saulyus Lapenis	865	10,515
Kazimera-Danute Prunskene	5,855	5,525

Kalvariyskiy Electoral District No. 6

Total Number of Voters		20,241.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,579.
Number of Invalid Ballots		425.
Candidate	For	Against
Yulyus Yurginis	486	10,668
Pyatras-Algirdas Mishkinis	1,000	10,154
Niyole Ozhelite-Vaytekunene	6,958	4,196
Yurgis Survila	1,652	9,502
Vitautas Tutkus	721	10,433

Niyole OZHELITE-VAYTEKUNENE, an actress, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Zhverinasskiy Electoral District No. 7

Total Number of Voters		22,427.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,822.
Number of Invalid Ballots		353.
Candidate	For	Against

Bronislovas Genzyalis	8,876	5,593
Yuozas Yermalavichyus	1,771	12,698
Arturas Plokshta	1,440	13,029
Stasis Yosis	1,702	12,767

Bronislovas GENZYALIS, a professor at Vilnius University, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Yustinishkskiy Electoral District No. 8

Total Number of Voters		20,032.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,915.
Number of Invalid Ballots		367.
Candidate	For	Against
Yanina Gagilene	2,311	9,237
Yuozas Kuolyalis	1,993	9,555
Gyadiminas Vagnoryus	6,427	5,121

Gyadiminas VAGNORYUS, a senior scientific associate of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Pashilaychskiy Electoral District No. 9

Total Number of Voters		19,265.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,713.
Number of Invalid Ballots		172.
Candidate	For	Against
Ryshard Kurilo	2,706	8,835
Bronislovas-Yuozas Kuzmitskas	6,718	4,823
Algimantas Matsyavichyus	1,484	10,057

Bronislovas-Yuozas KUZMITSKAS, department head of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Shyashkinskiy Electoral District No. 10

Total Number of Voters		20,938.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,069.
Number of Invalid Ballots		254.
Candidate	For	Against
Lyudvikas Sabutis	9,030	3,785
Valentin Khadunkin	3,340	9,475

Lyudvikas SABUTIS, secretary of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Fabiyonishkskiy Electoral District No. 11

Total Number of Voters		19,451.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,346.
Number of Invalid Ballots		590.
Candidate	For	Against
Albertas Astromskas	854	10,902
Pyatras Vaytekunas	5,598	6,158
Andryus Vasilyauskas	156	11,600
Yuozas Miltyanis	692	11,064
Romualdas Stanislovaytis	578	11,178
Ryshard Khmelevskiy	2,342	9,414
Yuozapas Yuryavichyus	1,197	10,559

*Taurasskiy Electoral District No. 12

Total Number of Voters		16,585.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,711.
Number of Invalid Ballots		572.
Candidate	For	Against
Algirdas Gritsyus	1,955	9,184
Vyacheslav Dobychin	3,228	7,911
Tomas Kniva	388	10,751
Eugeniyus Petrovas	4,009	7,130
Romanas Urnezhyus	412	10,727
Raymundas Shivis	764	10,375

Stroitelnyy Electoral District No. 13

Total Number of Voters		17,371.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,989.
Number of Invalid Ballots		97.
Candidate	For	Against
Kazimeras Antanavichyus	7,528	4,364
Oktyabr Burdenko	3,943	7,949

Kazimeras ANTANAVICHYUS, department supervisor of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Panyaryayskiy Electoral District No. 14

Total Number of Voters		17,989.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,861.
Number of Invalid Ballots		374.
Candidate	For	Against
Cheslava Akutovich	707	9,780
Antanas Aleksandravichyus	365	10,122
Niyole Ambrazaytite	5,102	5,385
Genrikas Vitkus	654	9,833
Vladislav Shved	3,395	7,095

Lazdinayskiy Electoral District No. 15

Total Number of Voters		18,354.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,479.
Number of Invalid Ballots		195.
Candidate	For	Against
Emanuelis Zingeris	6,916	6,368

Gyadiminas Kirkilas	2,024	11,260
Mikhail Shkulepa	3,926	9,358

Emanuelis ZINGERIS, director of the State Jewish Museum, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Karolinishkskiy Electoral District No. 16

Total Number of Voters		16,615.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,075.
Number of Invalid Ballots		215.
Candidate	For	Against
Rimvidas Gutauskas	2,687	9,173
Virginiyus Kizas	1,390	10,470
Prantsishkus Tupikas	5,636	6,224

Kosmonavtskiy Electoral District No. 17

Total Number of Voters		18,277.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,398.
Number of Invalid Ballots		299.
Candidate	For	Against
Valeriy Ivanov	2,429	10,670
Ivan Kucherov	1,913	11,186
Ionas Tamulis	8,445	4,654

Ionas TAMULIS, a junior scientific associate of Vilnius University, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Syanamestskiy Electoral District No. 18

Total Number of Voters		20,281.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,530.
Number of Invalid Ballots		915.
Candidate	For	Against
Georgiy Vinzhanov	1,526	9,089
Kyastutis Lipeyka	1,588	9,027
Algirdas Motulas	989	9,626
Cheslav Okinchits	3,214	7,401
Lyudvikas Pipiras	1,296	9,319
Nazyryan Khusnutdinov	1,624	8,991

Zheleznodorozhnyy Electoral District No. 19

Total Number of Voters		18,103.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,315.
Number of Invalid Ballots		574.
Candidate	For	Against
Aldona Balsene	1,062	8,679
Mikolas Burokyavichyus	1,624	8,117
Vasiliy Yemelyanov	965	8,776
Vladislav Maksimovich	1,552	8,189
Medard Chobot	4,076	5,665

*Pavilnisskiy Electoral District No. 20

Total Number of Voters		17,025.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		9,662.
Number of Invalid Ballots		439.
Candidate	For	Against
Zbignev Baltsevich	2,196	7,027
Vitautas Gaydamavichyus	2,617	6,606
Vitaliy Karolchuk	2,033	7,190
Ionas Karchyauskas	1,430	7,793
Zbignev-Edvard Stvol	700	8,523

*Novovilnyaskiy Electoral District No. 21

Total Number of Voters		18,586.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,572.
Number of Invalid Ballots		649.
Candidate	For	Against
Sergey Rudnik	3,041	6,982
Mechislav Sadovskiy	2,399	7,524
Georgiy Sysoyev	118	9,805
Iosif Tomashevich	2,727	7,196
Natalya Shevchenko	482	9,441
Valeriy Chudnovskiy	232	9,691

Vitautasskiy Electoral District No. 22

Total Number of Voters		16,732.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,028.
Number of Invalid Ballots		298.
Candidate	For	Against
Aleksandras-Algirdas Abishalas	7,750	3,980
Lyudas Dambrauskas	1,726	10,004
Eugeniyus Traynis	1,345	10,385

Aleksandras-Algirdas ABISHALAS, a scientific associate of Kaunas Radiomeasurement Equipment Scientific Research Institute, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Paneryayskiy Electoral District No. 23

Total Number of Voters		22,330.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,245.
Number of Invalid Ballots		236.
Candidate	For	Against
Vitautas Apbachyauskas	4,618	10,391
Birute Nedzinskene	8,742	6,267
Adolfas Urbonas	1,126	13,883

Birute NEDZINSKENE, head of the Lithuanian Union of Exiles History of Literature Department, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Zhalyakalnskiy Electoral District No. 24

Total Number of Voters		20,487.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,255.
Number of Invalid Ballots		164.
Candidate	For	Against
Stanislovas Masekas	3,392	10,699
Algirdas-Vatslovas Patatskas	10,221	3,870

Algirdas-Vatslovas PATATSKAS, a worker at Kaunas Reclamation and Construction Administration, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Mirnyy Electoral District No. 25

Total Number of Voters		23,713.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,682.
Number of Invalid Ballots		326.
Candidate	For	Against
Aleksandras Ambrazyavichyus	11,004	4,352
Mindautas Buyka	2,498	12,858
Aleksas Dabulskis	1,261	14,095

Aleksandras AMBRAZYAVICHYUS, deputy shop chief of Kaunas Koordinate Machine Tool Manufacturing Production Association, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Daynavskiy Electoral District No. 26

Total Number of Voters		23,006.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,337.
Number of Invalid Ballots		270.
Candidate	For	Against
Algirdas Pukyalis	4,156	10,911
Vladimir Yarmolenko	10,173	4,894

Vladimir YARMOLENKO, a senior professor at Kaunas Medical Academy, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Sauletyakskiy Electoral District No. 27

Total Number of Voters		16,622.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,008.
Number of Invalid Ballots		128.
Candidate	For	Against
Ionas Birzhishkis	3,589	7,294
Valdemaras Katkus	6,941	3,952

Valdemaras KATKUS, editor of BENDRIYA Newspaper, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Kalnechskiy Electoral District No. 28

Total Number of Voters		19,509.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,336.
Number of Invalid Ballots		175.
Candidate	For	Against
Anitsetas-Vintsas Kulbokas	3,464	10,697
Aurimas Taurantas	10,127	4,034

Aurimas TAURANTAS, lead engineer of Kaunas Radiomeasurement Equipment Scientific-Research Institute, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Muravskiy Electoral District No. 29

Total Number of Voters		15,859.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,963.
Number of Invalid Ballots		53.
Candidate	For	Against
Cheslovas-Vitautas Stankyavichyus	9,002	1,908

Cheslovas-Vitautas STANKYAVICHYUS, chief engineer of Kaunas Institute of Municipal Construction Design, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Panyamunskiy Electoral District No. 30

Total Number of Voters		16,835.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,358.
Number of Invalid Ballots		191.
Candidate	For	Against
Sigitas Vasilyauskas	1,404	9,763
Vidmantas Machyulis	1,838	9,329
Vitautas Palyunas	5,997	5,170
Yuozas Shatas	1,663	9,504

Vitautas PALYUNAS, department head of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Shanchyayskiy Electoral District No. 31

Total Number of Voters		15,943.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,015.
Number of Invalid Ballots		232.
Candidate	For	Against
Linas-Antanas Linkyavichyus	1,411	9,372
Kyastas Mishkinis	1,834	8,949
Lyudvikas Simutis	7,047	3,736

Lyudvikas SIMUTIS, a Kaunas Hydrogeological Expedition carpenter, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Girstupskiy Electoral District No. 32

Total Number of Voters		17,599.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,976.
Number of Invalid Ballots		237.
Candidate	For	Against
Gediminas Damalakas	845	9,894

Rimantas Ruzas	3,564	7,175
Gediminas Sherkshnis	5,710	5,029

Gediminas SHERKSHNIS, a section leader of Baltic Amadeus Enterprise, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Promyshlennyy Electoral District No. 33

Total Number of Voters		15,136.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,458.
Number of Invalid Ballots		206.
Candidate	For	Against
Raymundas Ila	1,743	8,509
Valdas Petrauskas	1,692	8,560
Vidmantas Povilenis	6,525	3,727

Vidmantas POVILENIS, an engineer of the Institute for Increasing the Skills of Leading Workers and Specialists under the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Shilaynskiy Electoral District No. 34

Total Number of Voters		17,604.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,111.
Number of Invalid Ballots		197.
Candidate	For	Against
Rolandas Paulauskas	6,893	4,021
Albinas Petrauskas	924	9,990
Vasiliy Popov	2,489	8,425
Ionas Skvarnavichyus	165	10,749

Rolandas PAULAUSKAS, editor of KAUNO AYDAS Newspaper, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Viliyampolskiy Electoral District No. 35

Total Number of Voters		17,790.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,538.
Number of Invalid Ballots		21.
Candidate	For	Against
Algirdas Saudargas	11,404	1,113

Algirdas SAUDARGAS, senior scientific associate of the Kaunas Medical Academy, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Nyamunskiy Electoral District No. 36

Total Number of Voters		17,937.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,677.
Number of Invalid Ballots		264.
Candidate	For	Against
Povilas Varanauskas	7,085	4,328
Yuozas-Algirdas Karalyus	726	10,687
Rimantas Karaziya	1,469	9,944
Bernardas Krizhitauskas	530	10,883
Ionas-Vitautas Meylutis	1,418	9,995

Povilas VARANAUSKAS, lead scientific associate of the Kaunas Polytechnic Institute's Vibroequipment Scientific Center, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Alyaksotskiy Electoral District No. 37

Total Number of Voters		20,000.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,664.
Number of Invalid Ballots		622.
Candidate	For	Against
Aloizas-Ramunis Budryunas	2,160	11,082
Klemensas Zhilenis	203	13,839
Vitolis Kuchinskas	883	13,159
Vitautas Merkshaytis	387	13,655
Algimantas Norvilas	9,498	4,544
Valeriy Yarko	703	13,339

Algimantas NORVILAS, director of the Kaunas Home of Artists, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Daneskiy Electoral District No. 38

Total Number of Voters		16,932.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,890.
Number of Invalid Ballots		248.
Candidate	For	Against
Leonid Zubanov	653	11,989
Yuozas Karvyalis	8,397	4,245
Ivan Chernykh	3,359	9,283

Yuozas KARVYALIS, a harbor pilot at Klaypeda Commercial Sea Port, Klaypeda, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Kurshskiy Electoral District No. 39

Total Number of Voters		18,265.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,725.
Number of Invalid Ballots		378.
Candidate	For	Against
Viktoras Adomaytis	1,576	10,771
Georgiy Kruk	4,894	7,453
Lyudvikas-Nartsizas Rasimavichyus	5,411	6,936

Trinichskiy Electoral District No. 40

Total Number of Voters		19,686.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,757.
Number of Invalid Ballots		360.
Candidate	For	Against
Vitautas-Pyatras Plechkaytis	8,795	4,602
Antanas Stanyavichyus	2,726	10,671

Vitautas-Pyatras PLECHKAYTIS, deputy director of the Malaya Litva Historical Museum, Klaypeda, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Baltiyskiy Electoral District No. 41

Total Number of Voters		17,503.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,885.
Number of Invalid Ballots		315.
Candidate	For	Against
Raymundas Kontrimas	1,450	10,090
Stasis Malkyavichyus	7,113	4,427
Edvardas Staponkus	1,716	9,824

Stasis MALKYAVICHYUS, department head of the Klaypeda Branch of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute, Klaypeda, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Nauyakemskiy Electoral District No. 42

Total Number of Voters		21,705.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,078.
Number of Invalid Ballots		620.
Candidate	For	Against
Antanas-Algimantas Belskis	306	14,152
Eugeniyus Gentvilas	6,560	7,898
Bronyus Plyushkis	1,855	12,603
Valeriy Sotnikov	3,787	10,671
Algimantas Urmonas	557	13,901
Algimantas Shvanis	933	13,525

*Zhardininkskiy Electoral District No. 43

Total Number of Voters		17,313.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,028.
Number of Invalid Ballots		417.
Candidate	For	Against
Pyatras Ginetas	5,039	6,572
Aloizas Kazhdaylis	2,072	9,539
Povilas Vasilyauskas	2,963	8,648

Banduzhskiy Electoral District No. 44

Total Number of Voters		18,315.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,319.
Number of Invalid Ballots		639.
Candidate	For	Against
Romualda Gofertene	5,290	5,390
Valeriy Rayevskiy	1,309	10,371
Algirdas Renkauskas	1,653	10,027
Antanas-Sigitas Shilyaris	2,029	9,651

Romualda GOFERTENE, a teacher at Klaypeda Middle School No. 22, Klaypeda, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Payurisskiy Electoral District No. 45

Total Number of Voters		15,738.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,625.
Number of Invalid Ballots		434.
Candidate	For	Against
Pyatras Tsirtautas	1,843	9,348
Sigitas Galentas	503	10,688
Artashes Gazaryan	1,382	9,809
Ionas Mugyavichyus	617	10,574
Ionas Sinkyavichyus	1,273	9,918
Alfonsas Zhalis	5,095	6,096

Gubernskiy Electoral District No. 46

Total Number of Voters		17,563.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,353.
Number of Invalid Ballots		450.
Candidate	For	Against
Yaroslavas Banyavichyus	630	11,273
Kostantsiya Gerasimenko	1,158	10,745
Yuozapas Kayris	1,377	10,526
Kyastutis Lapinskas	6,260	5,643
Rimantas Lazdinas	784	11,119
Adolfas Shlezhyavichyus	1,298	10,605

Kyastutis LAPINSKAS, assistant professor at Vilnius University, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Zhemaytskiy Electoral District No. 47

Total Number of Voters		17,425.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,339.
Number of Invalid Ballots		191.
Candidate	For	Against
Vladimir Bakulin	1,287	9,861
Antanas Klyunka	3,994	7,154
Donatas Morkunas	5,600	5,548

Aushraskiy Electoral District No. 48

Total Number of Voters		12,761.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		8,570.
Number of Invalid Ballots		152.
Candidate	For	Against
Virgiliyus Kachinskas	4,405	4,013
Yuras Pozhela	3,450	4,968

Virgilyus KACHINSKAS, architect of the Shyaulyay Department of the Public Utilities Planning Institute, Shyaulyay, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Rekivskiy Electoral District No. 49

Total Number of Voters		15,766.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,040.
Number of Invalid Ballots		22.
Candidate	For	Against
Romualdas Ozolas	10,228	790

Romualdas OZOLAS, editor-in-chief of ATGIMIMAS Newspaper, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Leporyayskiy Electoral District No. 50

Total Number of Voters		18,742.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,019.
Number of Invalid Ballots		342.
Candidate	For	Against
Kazis Alminas	2,385	10,292
Stanislovas-Algirdas Vozbinas	1,010	11,667
Zhilvinas Razminas	867	11,810
Mindaugas Stakvilyavichyus	7,917	4,760

Mindaugas STAKVILYAVICHYUS, first secretary of the Shyaulyay Gorkom KPL [Communist Party of Lithuania], Shyaulyay, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Daynayskiy Electoral District No. 51

Total Number of Voters		15,919.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,887.
Number of Invalid Ballots		156.
Candidate	For	Against
Ionas Keldushis	3,505	7,226
Algimantas Seyunas	6,358	4,373

Algimantas SEYUNAS, head of the special design and technological bureau of Shyaulyay Nuklon Plant, Shyaulyay, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Zhemaytskiy Electoral District No. 52

Total Number of Voters		15,762.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,830.
Number of Invalid Ballots		148.
Candidate	For	Against
Almantas Bachkis	1,363	9,319
Yulyus Beynortas	6,976	3,706
Romualdas Grilauskas	870	9,812
Etidiyus Zhukauskas	1,083	9,599

Yulyus BEYNORTAS, deputy chief of the Panevezhis Ekranas Plant glass complex, Panevezhis, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Pilenskiy Electoral District No. 53

Total Number of Voters		20,940.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,474.
Number of Invalid Ballots		142.
Candidate	For	Against
Vladas Vilkas	3,336	10,996
Ionas Lyauchyus	10,070	4,262

Ionas LYAUCHYUS, a lawyer with Panevezhis Law Clinic, Panevezhis, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Knyaudishkskiy Electoral District No. 54

Total Number of Voters		16,625.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,246.
Number of Invalid Ballots		159.
Candidate	For	Against
Yuozas Byachyalis	3,414	8,673
Vitautas Landsbergis	7,497	4,590
Alvidas Pelyanis	902	11,185

Vitautis LANDSBERGIS, a professor at the Lithuanian Conservatory, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Respublikanskiy Electoral District No. 55

Total Number of Voters		17,100.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,978.
Number of Invalid Ballots		179.
Candidate	For	Against
Alfredas Pabyarzhis	1,658	11,141
Egidiyus Yarashyunas	10,432	2,367

Egidiyus YARASHYUNAS, a lawyer at Panevezhis City Law Clinic, Panevezhis, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Smelinskiy Electoral District No. 56

Total Number of Voters		17,546.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,469.
Number of Invalid Ballots		1.
Candidate	For	Against
Rimantas Astrauskas	10,759	1,709

Rimantas ASTRAUSKAS, an engineer at the Institute of Physics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Severnyy Electoral District No. 57

Total Number of Voters		17,055.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,445.
Number of Invalid Ballots		91.
Candidate	For	Against
Yustas-Vintsas Paletskis	7,837	2,517
Vintsas-Viktoras Petskus	2,383	7,971

Yustas-Vintsas PALETSKIS, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Yuzhnyy Electoral District No. 58

Total Number of Voters		16,988.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		9,658.
Number of Invalid Ballots		84.
Candidate	For	Against
Emiliya Montvilene	2,525	7,049
Virgiliyus-Yuozas Chepaytis	6,381	3,193

Virgiliyus-Yuozas CHEPAYTIS, executive secretary of the Seym Council of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*First Alitusskiy Electoral District No. 59

Total Number of Voters		14,869.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		8,583.
Number of Invalid Ballots		105.
Candidate	For	Against
Viktoras Valentukyavichyus	2,341	6,137
Gintares Tsibas	1,924	6,554
Saulyus Pechelyunas	3,675	4,803

Putinayskiy Electoral District No. 60

Total Number of Voters		18,417.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,956.
Number of Invalid Ballots		133.
Candidate	For	Against
Kyastutis Glavyatskas	6,616	4,207
Antanas Kudzis	2,564	8,259
Yuozas Skudra	1,408	9,415

Kyastutis GLAVYATSKAS, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Vidzgirskiy Electoral District No. 61

Total Number of Voters		17,530.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		9,979.
Number of Invalid Ballots		129.
Candidate	For	Against
Feliksas Dzhyautas	1,542	8,308
Vatslovas Kleponis	1,992	7,858
Vitautas Kolesnikovas	3,397	6,453
Bronislovas-Ionas Yanonis	2,312	7,538

Druskininkskiy Electoral District No. 62

Total Number of Voters		21,714.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,811.
Number of Invalid Ballots		290.
Candidate	For	Against
Vitoldas Kumpa	2,854	12,667
Rimvidas-Stanislovas Mitskyavichyus	3,070	12,451
Albertas Shimenas	9,151	6,370

Albertas SHIMENAS, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet

Palangskiy Electoral District No. 63

Total Number of Voters		14,829.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,853.
Number of Invalid Ballots		121.
Candidate	For	Against
Rimvidas Valatka	7,302	4,430
Pyatras Gretsyavichyus	1,249	10,483
Rimantas Kviklis	2,823	8,909

Rimvidis VALATKA, deputy editor-in-chief of the GIMTASIS KRASHTAS Newspaper, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Gargzhdayskiy Electoral District No. 64

Total Number of Voters		16,712.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,033.
Number of Invalid Ballots		13.
Candidate	For	Against
Ionas Shimenas	9,098	3,922

Ionas SHIMENAS, chief of the maritime geological photography detachment of the petroleum exploration expedition of the Lithuanian Production Association for Geological Reconnaissance Operations, Gargzhday, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Prekulskiy Electoral District No. 65

Total Number of Voters		18,259.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,617.
Number of Invalid Ballots		257.
Candidate	For	Against
Vitautas Zabela	6,747	7,789
Alfonsas Pekarskas	794	13,742
Algimantas-Vintsas Ulba	6,545	7,991

Shilutskiy Electoral District No. 66

Total Number of Voters		20,646.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,573.
Number of Invalid Ballots		156.
Candidate	For	Against
Egidiyus Bichkauskas	13,198	2,219
Bronyus Daugirdas	1,853	13,564

Egidiyus BICHKAUSKAS, an investigator of especially important cases of the Lithuanian SSR Procurator's Office, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Pagegskiy Electoral District No. 67

Total Number of Voters		17,680.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,443.
Number of Invalid Ballots		415.
Candidate	For	Against
Antanas Karoblis	3,146	10,882
Alfonsas Matsaytis	1,305	12,723
Albinas Raudonyus	1,815	12,213
Vladas Sturis	4,345	9,683
Vitaliyus Shopis	2,843	11,185
Ginutis Ventsyus	275	13,753

Tauragskiy Electoral District No. 68

Total Number of Voters		20,725.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,272.
Number of Invalid Ballots		358.
Candidate	For	Against
Vitas Anulis	1,796	13,118
Albinas Yanushka	8,764	6,150
Ionas Machyukyavichyus	3,982	10,932
Igor Sapalev	175	14,379

Albinas YANUSHKA, a scientific associate of Ferment Scientific Production Association, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Iovarskiy Electoral District No. 69

Total Number of Voters		16,893.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,494.
Number of Invalid Ballots		145.
Candidate	For	Against
Ionas Sheputis	5,438	6,911
Kazimeras Vaychyulis	5,994	6,355

*Shilalskiy Electoral District No. 70

Total Number of Voters		21,373.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		17,506.
Number of Invalid Ballots		331.
Candidate	For	Against
Ionas Gyachas	1,210	15,965
Kazis Yuknyus	6,946	10,229
Layma-Margarita Pangonite	3,140	14,035
Valeriyonas Shadreyka	5,318	11,857

*Plungeskiy Electoral District No. 71

Total Number of Voters		19,102.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,875.
Number of Invalid Ballots		190.
Candidate	For	Against
Balis Gauyauskas	5,811	8,874
Aleksandras-Raymondas Kashauskas	4,523	10,162
Rimas Shchupokas	3,723	10,962

Retavskiy Electoral District No. 72

Total Number of Voters		17,846.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,447.
Number of Invalid Ballots		170.
Candidate	For	Against
Ionas-Eugeniyus Bachinskas	1,198	14,079
Antanas Kubilyus	3,486	11,791
Mechis Laurinkus	9,343	5,934
Stanislovas Mikashauskas	1,081	14,196

Mechis LAURINKUS, scientific associate of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnyusskiyy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Kretingskiy Electoral District No. 73

Total Number of Voters		15,791.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,833.
Number of Invalid Ballots		187.
Candidate	For	Against
Bernardas Anuzhis	2,721	7,925
Ionas Gelazhyus	3,053	7,593
Ionas Yukhnyavichyus	425	10,221
Virginiyus Pikturna	3,717	6,929

*Kartyanskiy Electoral District No. 74

Total Number of Voters		15,365.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,714.
Number of Invalid Ballots		157.
Candidate	For	Against
Eymontas Grakauskas	6,326	6,231
Valeriyonas Kubilyus	3,174	9,383
Stanislovas Petravichyus	2,754	9,803

Skuodasskiy Electoral District No. 75

Total Number of Voters		18,853.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,652.
Number of Invalid Ballots		224.
Candidate	For	Against
Vilyus Baldishis	10,993	4,435
Aloizas-Romualdas Kalvaytis	2,543	12,885
Yurgis Oksas	979	14,449
Donatas Ramanauskas	569	14,859

Vilyus BALDISHIS, professor at Vilnius University, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Mazheykskiy Electoral District No. 76

Total Number of Voters		19,206.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,975.
Number of Invalid Ballots		464.
Candidate	For	Against
Ionas Buynauskas	1,696	11,815
Kazis Chyapis	1,232	12,279
Zenonas Yuknyavichyus	8,145	5,366
Romualdas Sakalauskas	1,828	11,683

Zenonas YUKNYAVICHYUS, procurator with the Lithuanian SSR Procurator Department, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Neftyaninkskiy Electoral District No. 77

Total Number of Voters		13,988.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		7,346.
Number of Invalid Ballots		301.
Candidate	For	Against
Richardas Adomaytis	679	6,366
Raymondas Daukantas	1,697	5,348
Yuozas Katkus	1,576	5,469
Ignatsas Lautsyus	864	6,181
Ionas Yurkus	1,555	5,490

Vyantskiy Electoral District No. 78

Total Number of Voters		16,070.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,397.
Number of Invalid Ballots		152.
Candidate	For	Against
Zigmas Vayshvila	9,315	3,930
Eugeniya Meshkene	2,566	10,679
Rimantas Misyunas	1,139	12,106

Zigmas VAYSHVILA, senior professor at the Institute for Increasing the Skills of the National Economy's Managers and Specialists under the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Akmyanskiy Electoral District No. 79

Total Number of Voters		17,486.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,639.
Number of Invalid Ballots		210.
Candidate	For	Against
Klyamas Inta	7,145	7,284
Leopoldas Rozga	5,492	8,937

*Telshyayskiy Electoral District No. 80

Total Number of Voters		17,781.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,884.
Number of Invalid Ballots		259.
Candidate	For	Against
Zhimantas Ambrazas	1,303	10,332
Yuozas Butkyavichyus	3,370	8,255
Arturas Povilyunas	1,987	9,638
Vitautas Puplauskas	4,595	7,030

*Telshyayskyy—Rural Electoral District No. 81

Total Number of Voters		17,442.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,240.
Number of Invalid Ballots		220.
Candidate	For	Against
Vitautas Yatskunas	1,992	11,028
Algirdas Kumzha	5,623	7,397
Yulyus Lechkauskas	1,055	11,965
Algirdas Tarvaynis	3,921	9,099

*Kelmeskiy Electoral District No. 82

Total Number of Voters		18,097.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,258.
Number of Invalid Ballots		187.
Candidate	For	Against
Arunas Bernadishyus	3,426	10,645
Antanas Rachas	6,849	7,222
Stanislovas Sabaytis	3,074	10,997

*Uzhvyantskiy Electoral District No. 83

Total Number of Voters		16,318.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,398.
Number of Invalid Ballots		123.
Candidate	For	Against
Stasis Kashauskas	4,227	9,048
Zenonas Machernyus	5,910	7,365
Cheslovas Stonis	2,809	10,466

Raseynskiy Electoral District No. 84

Total Number of Voters		16,568.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,031.
Number of Invalid Ballots		135.
Candidate	For	Against
Gediminas-Kazis Galubauskas	3,077	9,834
Kazimeras Moteka	9,560	3,351

Kazimeras MOTEKA, a lawyer with Vilnius Legal Clinic No. 1, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Aregalskiy Electoral District No. 85

Total Number of Voters		16,430.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,591.
Number of Invalid Ballots		325.
Candidate	For	Against
Arunas Degutis	5,943	7,323
Alfonsas Gedgaudas	1,054	12,212
Edmundas Ionila	4,203	9,063
Ona Kazbarene	1,720	11,546

Kedaynskiy Electoral District No. 86

Total Number of Voters		17,078.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,595.
Number of Invalid Ballots		188.
Candidate	For	Against
Albertas Adashyunas	1,209	9,198
Vladimir Berezov	8,453	1,954
Antanas Yanushkyavichyus	503	9,904

Vladimir BEREZOV, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet

Dotnuvskiy Electoral District No. 87

Total Number of Voters		16,246.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,305.
Number of Invalid Ballots		152.
Candidate	For	Against
Vaydotas Antanaytis	4,987	8,366
Mikolas Arlauskas	7,466	5,887
Ignas Meshkauskas	652	12,701

Mikolas ARLAUSKAS, lead scientific associate of the Lithuanian Scientific Research Institute of Farming, Kedaynskiy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Shetasskiy Electoral District No. 88

Total Number of Voters		15,588.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,979.
Number of Invalid Ballots		194.
Candidate	For	Against
Povilas Aksomaytis	6,962	3,823
Ona Puodzhyunayte	1,587	9,198
Vintsas Ramanauskas	1,452	9,333

Povilas AKSOMAYTIS, laboratory head of the Lithuanian Scientific-Research Institute of Hydraulic Engineering and Development, Kedaynyay, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Radvilishkskiy Electoral District No. 89

Total Number of Voters		20,058.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,062.
Number of Invalid Ballots		721.
Candidate	For	Against
Vladas Bartkus	514	12,827
Sergey Brizhakhin	3,165	10,176
Algimantas Galminas	249	13,092
Yulyus Yasaytis	1,743	11,598
Viktoras Karmonas	503	12,838
Grazhvidas Kazakyavichyus	590	12,751
Arvidas-Kostas Leshchinskas	6,211	7,130

Shyaduvskiy Electoral District No. 90

Total Number of Voters		18,505.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,923.
Number of Invalid Ballots		910.
Candidate	For	Against
Ariya-Leokadiya Chesnulyavichene	896	13,117
Zenonas Gedvilas	313	13,700
Antanas Kayris	1,949	12,064
Kyastutis Rimkus	4,225	9,788
Antanas Stanchikas	4,571	9,442
Antanas Zibolis	1,492	12,521

Shaylyayskiy

Rural Electoral District No. 91		
Total Number of Voters		18,715.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,373.
Number of Invalid Ballots		152.
Candidate	For	Against
Miglute Gerdaytite	9,092	5,129
Kazimeras Vayshvilas	4,641	9,580

Miglute GERDAYTITE, chief doctor at Shyaulyayskiy Rayon Myashkuychskiy Hospital, Shyaulyayskiy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Kurshenskiy Electoral District No. 92

Total Number of Voters		16,629.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,731.
Number of Invalid Ballots		258.
Candidate	For	Against
Algirdas Abromaytis	2,942	9,531
Ionas Bezaras	5,441	7,032
Yokubas Minkyavichyus	3,349	9,124

*Ionishkskiy Electoral District No. 93

Total Number of Voters	22,999.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots	18,814.
Number of Invalid Ballots	206.

Candidate	For	Against
Kyastutis Chilinskas	4,655	13,953
Lyudas Yonaytis	4,244	14,364
Yulyus Kazenas	3,672	14,936
Gintaras Ramonas	5,094	13,514

Pakruoyskiy Electoral District No. 94

Total Number of Voters		22,200.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		18,265.
Number of Invalid Ballots		264.
Candidate	For	Against
Feliksas Klupshas	6,011	11,990
Algirdas Razhauskas	6,938	11,063
Valdemiras Zhvirblis	4,711	13,290

Pasvalskiy Electoral District No. 95

Total Number of Voters		19,386.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,735.
Number of Invalid Ballots		629.
Candidate	For	Against
Vitautas Lalas	2,022	13,084
Rasa Rastauskene	9,802	5,304
Viktoras Rimsha	1,859	13,247
Pyatras Vaytekunas	1,149	13,957

Rasa RASTAUSKENE, a doctor at Pasvalskiy Rayon Central Hospital, Pasvalis, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Pabirzhskiy Electoral District No. 96

Total Number of Voters		16,469.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,194.
Number of Invalid Ballots		187.
Candidate	For	Against
Mikolas Karchyauskas	4,809	9,198
Pyatras Poshkus	8,607	5,400

Pyatras POSHKUS, chairman of Birzhayskiy Rayon Laysvoyi zhyame Kolkhoz, Birzhayskiy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Birzhayskiky Electoral District No. 97

Total Number of Voters		17,866.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,245.
Number of Invalid Ballots		170.
Candidate	For	Against
Viktoras Rinkyavichyus	4,790	9,285
Arunas Vaytaytis	1,979	12,096
Birute Valenite	6,159	7,916

The Republic's voter rolls total 2,581,359 voters; 1,851,343 voters or 71.72 percent of the voters participated in the voting.

* In the districts marked by an asterisk in accordance with district electoral commissions decisions, a runoff will be conducted on 4, 7, or 10 March between the two candidates for people's deputy who received the greatest number of votes in accordance with Article 52 of the Law of the Lithuanian SSR on Election of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies.

** Since neither of the candidates in the districts marked by two asterisks garnered more than half of the votes of voters who participated in the elections for deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and in accordance with Article 53 of the Lithuanian SSR Law on Election of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies, the Republic Electoral Commission has designated repeat elections for 7 April 1990.

More Election Results

90UN1175B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 2 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "At the Republic Electoral Commission: Election Results for Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Which Occurred on 24 February 1990. Published Based on District Electoral Commission Records"]

[Text]

Panezhevskiy Rural Electoral District No. 98

Total Number of Voters		19,217.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,876.
Number of Invalid Ballots		283.
Candidate	For	Against
Kyastutis Galvichyus	1,979	13,614
Algimantas Kaminskas	1,933	13,660
Stasis Kropas	9,490	6,103
Ionas Sinkyavichyus	1,755	13,838

Stasis KROPAS, assistant professor at Vilnius University, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Raguvskiy Electoral District No. 99

Total Number of Voters		19,788.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		16,869.
Number of Invalid Ballots		171.
Candidate	For	Against
Alfonsas Gedraytis	4,612	12,086
Vitautus-Ionas Kryauchyunas	1,603	15,095
Vidmantas Zhemyalis	10,030	6,668

Vidmantas ZHEMYALIS, procurator of the Lithuanian SSR Procurator Department, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Anikshchyayskiy Electoral District No. 100

Total Number of Voters-19,123.

Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		16,216.
Number of Invalid Ballots		290.
Candidate	For	Against
Irena Andrukaytene	7,370	8,556
Tamara Bozhok	1,737	14,189
Ionas Yanishyus	5,361	10,565

Kupishkskiy Electoral District No. 101

Total Number of Voters		18,819.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,865.
Number of Invalid Ballots		163.
Candidate	For	Against
Lyaonas Apshega	8,868	6,834
Algimantas Nasvitis	6,433	9,269

Lyaonas APSHEGA, first deputy chairman of the Kupishkskiy Rayon Executive Committee of the Congress of People's Deputies, Kupishkskiy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Rokishkskiy Electoral District No. 102

Total Number of Voters		17,497.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,234.
Number of Invalid Ballots		179.
Candidate	For	Against
Leonardas Kayryukshtis	742	12,313
Vitas Kachinskas	3,258	9,797
Kazimeras Uoka	8,662	4,393

Kazimeras UOKA, secretary of the secretariat of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Obyalskiy Electoral District No. 103

Total Number of Voters		16,951.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,233.
Number of Invalid Ballots		278.
Candidate	For	Against
Etidiyus Klumbis	8,065	6,890
Feliksas-Romualdas Kryauchyunas	2,010	12,945
Ionas Nemitskas	4,629	10,326

Etidiyus KLUMBIS, head of the laboratory of neurosurgery of the Central Scientific Research Laboratory of Kaunas Medical Academy, Kaunas, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Utyanskiy Electoral District No. 104

Total Number of Voters		18,311.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,949.
Number of Invalid Ballots		651.
Candidate	For	Against
Lenginas Skurkis	4,596	8,702
Ona Statulyavichene	633	12,665
Saulyus Shaltyanis	7,276	6,022
Pyatras Shlayus	237	13,061

Saulyus SHALTYANIS, writer, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Aukshtaytiyskiy Electoral District No. 105

Total Number of Voters		18,805.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,068.
Number of Invalid Ballots		293.
Candidate	For	Against
Donatas Chepukas	2,583	12,192
Pyatras Galgatavichyus	3,610	11,165
Arvidas Kuodis	1,441	13,334
Albertas Mishkinis	4,985	9,790
Yuozas Pavilenis	1,373	13,402

**Zarasayskiy Electoral District No. 106

Total Number of Voters		18,801.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,326.
Number of Invalid Ballots		209.
Candidate	For	Against
Stasis Karla	6,862	8,255
Robertas Matulenis	7,193	7,924

Ignalinskiy Electoral District No. 107

Total Number of Voters		15,290.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,769.
Number of Invalid Ballots		138.
Candidate	For	Against
Gotfidas Ektis	2,783	9,848
Cheslovas Kudaba	8,019	4,612
Cheslovas Panavas	1,303	11,328

Cheslovas KUDABA, department head at Vilnius University, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Snechkusskiy Electoral District No. 108

Total Number of Voters		19,831.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		7,109.
Number of Invalid Ballots		2.
Candidate	For	Against
Sergey Pirozhkov	6,750	357

Shvenchёnelskiy Electoral District No. 109

Total Number of Voters		17,474.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,251.
Number of Invalid Ballots		256.
Candidate	For	Against
Yuozas Yakshtas	5,359	8,636
Cheslovas Yurshenas	7,909	6,086

Cheslovas YURSHENAS, Lithuanian SSR government information representative, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Shvenchenskiy Electoral District No. 110

Total Number of Voters		14,633.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,381.
Number of Invalid Ballots		319.
Candidate	For	Against
Yonas Bendoryus	2,382	7,680
Genrikas Kaushinis	536	9,526
Viktor Onachko	1,846	8,216
Valentina Suboch	3,820	6,242
Kazimir Yuralovich	1,181	8,881

Shalchininkskiy Electoral District No. 111

Total Number of Voters		18,379.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,894.
Number of Invalid Ballots		322.
Candidate	For	Against
Leon Yankelevich	11,887	1,685
Albinas Yuozapavichyus	208	13,364
Yanush Oblachinskiy	694	12,878
Edvardas Satkevichyus	24	13,548
Gintaras Songayla	621	12,951

Leon YANKELEVICH, chairman of the Shalchininkskiy SND [Council of People's Deputies] Ispolkom and first secretary of the Shalchininkskiy KPL [Communist Party of Lithuania] Raykom, Shalchininkay, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Yashyunskiy Electoral District No. 112

Total Number of Voters		21,921.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,713.
Number of Invalid Ballots		376.
Candidate	For	Against
Vitautas-Yuozapas Kardamavichyus	371	14,966
Stanislav Peshko	11,571	3,766
Yan Sinkevich	1,578	13,759
Vasiliy Sharapayev	169	15,168
Izidoryus Shimelenis	1,479	13,858

Stanislav PESHKO, director of Shalchininkskiy Rayon Repair and Maintenance Enterprise, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Mayshyagalskiy Electoral District No. 113

Total Number of Voters		18,305.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,111.
Number of Invalid Ballots		282.
Candidate	For	Against
Stanislav Akanovich	9,844	2,985
Adam Dzhaubayev	676	12,153
Pranas-Vitautas Mitskus	1,864	10,965
Prantsishkus Valitskas	299	12,530

Stanislav AKANOVICH, deputy chairman of Vilnyusskiy Rayon Council of People's Deputies Ispolkom, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Nyamyanchinskiy Electoral District No. 114

Total Number of Voters		18,244.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,277.
Number of Invalid Ballots		105.
Candidate	For	Against
Romualdas Ruchinskas	905	13,217
Edvard Tomashevich	12,801	1,324
Stanislovas Valitskas	251	13,871

Edvard TOMASHEVICH, chairman of the Vilnyusskiy Rayon Kolkhoz imeni Dzerzhinskiy, Vilnyusskiy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Yuodshilskiy Electoral District No. 115

Total Number of Voters		18,623.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,897.
Number of Invalid Ballots		302.
Candidate	For	Against
Yuozapas Glinskis	1,326	9,269
Ryshard Matesykyanets	5,830	4,765
Yuozas Gedeminas Morkunas	1,936	8,659
Regina Svideravichene	423	10,172
Iosif Tripulskiy	868	9,727

Ryshard MATSEYKYANETS, member of the Party Control Commission under the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Moletskiy Electoral District No. 116

Total Number of Voters		20,263.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,551.
Number of Invalid Ballots		215.
Candidate	For	Against
Yeronimas Balchyunas	4,371	10,965

Yurgis Yurgyalis	8,712	6,624
Valentinas Rakauskas	1,790	13,546

Yurgis YURGYALIS, scientific associate of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet

Shirvintskiy Electoral District No. 117

Total Number of Voters		15,826.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,916.
Number of Invalid Ballots		166.
Candidate	For	Against
Antanas Mikalayunas	1,686	11,064
Benediktas-Vilmantas Rupeyka	9,487	3,263
Antanas Urbonas	1,429	11,321

Benediktas-Vilmantas RUPEYKA, radio commentator for Lithuanian SSR Gosteleradio, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Ukmergskiy Electoral District No. 118

Total Number of Voters		18,835.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,552.
Number of Invalid Ballots		282.
Candidate	For	Against
Ionas Brazhinskas	1,049	13,221
Yuozas Gedeykis	1,739	12,531
Kyastutis Grinyus	7,298	6,972
Yuozas Nekroshyus	1,960	12,310
Mindaugas-Mikolas Tamoshyunas	1,665	12,605

Kyastutis GRINYUS, director of the Ukmergskiy Rayon's Uzhugirskiy Nine-Year-Old's School, Ukmerge, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Smelyayskiy Electoral District No. 119

Total Number of Voters		19,535.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,631.
Number of Invalid Ballots		369.
Candidate	For	Against
Lyuda Arlauskene	1,426	13,836
Alfonsas Bernotas	1,542	13,720
Yuozapas Budrikis	822	14,440
Stasis Yatskunas	537	14,725
Kazimeras Saya	10,355	4,907

Kazimeras SAYA, a writer, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Rimkayskiy Electoral District No. 120

Total Number of Voters		16,412.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		9,888.
Number of Invalid Ballots		183.
Candidate	For	Against
Stanislovas-Gyadiminis Ilgunas	4,899	4,806
Vasiliy Yaroshchenko	1,979	7,726
Yonas-Klemensas Sungayla	2,379	7,326

*Nerisskiy Electoral District No. 121

Total Number of Voters		17,734.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,185.
Number of Invalid Ballots		169.
Candidate	For	Against
Bronislovas Lubis	2,629	7,387
Eugeniyus Martsyukis	2,456	7,560
Edmundas Simanavichyus	4,509	5,507

Gudenskiy Electoral District No. 122

Total Number of Voters		14,691.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,052.
Number of Invalid Ballots		146.
Candidate	For	Against
Yuriy Bochkarev	2,957	7,949
Nikolay Medvedev	7,183	3,723

Nikolay MEDVEDEV, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Kaunus, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Kayshyadorskiy Electoral District No. 123

Total Number of Voters		18,011.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,796.
Number of Invalid Ballots		115.
Candidate	For	Against
Algirdas-Mikolas Brazauskas	13,567	1,114
Alfredas Smaylis	762	13,919
Mindaugas Shimkunas	301	14,380

Algirdas-Mikolas BRAZAUSKAS, chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Yurbarskiy Electoral District No. 124

Total Number of Voters		18,324.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,826.
Number of Invalid Ballots		231.
Candidate	For	Against
Layma-Lyutsiya Andrikene	8,037	7,558
Albina Danisyavichyus	2,193	13,402
Aloizas Zayris	5,010	10,585

Layma-Lyutsiya ANDRIKENE, assistant deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Panemunskiy Electoral District No. 125

Total Number of Voters		20,202.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,421.
Number of Invalid Ballots		7.
Candidate	For	Against
Eduardas Vilkas	14,750	664

Eduardas VILKAS, director of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Kalvariyskiy Electoral District No. 126

Total Number of Voters		18,243.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,332.
Number of Invalid Ballots		170.
Candidate	For	Against
Romas Gedraytis	843	11,319
Gintautas-Vintsas Iyeshmantas	6,509	5,653
Algis Rimas	4,519	7,643

Gintautas-Vintsas IYESHMANTAS, editor-in-chief of the publication LETUVOS ZHINES, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Kazlu-Rudskiy Electoral District No. 127

Total Number of Voters		16,600.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		11,405.
Number of Invalid Ballots		150.
Candidate	For	Against
Arvidas Bayoras	2,046	9,209
Romas Gudaytis	8,316	2,939
Aloizas-Yaronimas Markyavichyus	731	10,524

Romas GUDAYTIS, writer, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Shakyayskiy Electoral District No. 128

Total Number of Voters		19,939.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		16,584.
Number of Invalid Ballots		172.
Candidate	For	Against
Pranas Daylide	6,334	10,078
Algirdas Endryukaytis	9,207	7,205

Algirdas ENDRYUKAYTIS, chief economist of Shakyayskiy Rayon's Gedruchyay Kolkhoz, Shakyay, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Garlyavskiy Electoral District No. 129

Total Number of Voters		20,758.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,758.
Number of Invalid Ballots		61.
Candidate	For	Against
Audryus Butkyavichyus	13,503	1,194

Audryus BUTKYAVICHYUS, a doctor at Kaunasskiy Rayon Central Hospital, Kaunasskiy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Kacherginskiy Electoral District No. 130

Total Number of Voters		20,368.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		14,549.
Number of Invalid Ballots		180.
Candidate	For	Against
Gintautas Umaras	6,710	7,659
Vladas Vilimas	6,839	7,530

Vilkiyskiy Electoral District No. 131

Total Number of Voters		19,938.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,261.
Number of Invalid Ballots		261.
Candidate	For	Against
Lyaonas Milchyus	8,122	6,878
Antanas Nestetskis	6,301	8,699

Lyaonas MILCHYUS, head of the experimental PKB [Planning and Design Office] department of the Lithuanian Agriculture Mechanization and Electrification Scientific Research Institute, Kaunasskiy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Prenayskiy Electoral District No. 132

Total Number of Voters		15,017.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,555.
Number of Invalid Ballots		88.
Candidate	For	Against
Aldona Alekseyunene	2,391	8,076
Aleksandras Ionushas	1,621	8,846
Ionas Prapestis	6,188	4,279

Ionas PRAPESTIS, dean of the Law Faculty of Vilnius University, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Birshtonskiy Electoral District No. 133

Total Number of Voters		16,152.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,323.
Number of Invalid Ballots		112.
Candidate	For	Against
Algis-Prantsishkus Bubnis	4,318	7,893
Audryus Rudis	7,682	4,529

Audryus RUDIS, assistant professor at Vilnius University, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Vilkavishkskiy Electoral District No. 134

Total Number of Voters	19,229.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots	13,713.

Number of Invalid Ballots		228.
Candidate	For	Against
Alfonsas Chelkyavichyus	2,221	11,264
Vidmante Yasukaytite	4,957	8,528
Arturas Simanavichyus	4,443	9,042
Aleksandras-Edmundas Zhemaytaytis	1,603	11,882

Kibartskiy Electoral District No. 135

Total Number of Voters		17,867.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,928.
Number of Invalid Ballots		237.
Candidate	For	Against
Klemensas Kazlauskas	1,967	10,724
Yonas Machis	8,165	4,526
Romas Tamoshevichyus	1,994	10,697

Ionas MACHIS, a senior scientific associate at Vilkavishkskiy Rayon's Rumokskiy Experimental Station, Vilkavishkskiy Rayon, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Alitusskiy Rural Electoral District No. 136

Total Number of Voters		21,391.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,383.
Number of Invalid Ballots		358.
Candidate	For	Against
Stasis Chekanauskas	1,251	13,774
Antanas Damkus	3,270	11,755
Cheslovas Maisyavichyus	1,359	13,666
Yonas Pangonis	4,388	10,637
Rimantas Predkyalis	3,272	11,753
Ayvaras Vishnyauskas	1,140	13,885

*Lyantvarskiy Electoral District No. 137

Total Number of Voters		18,577.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		10,258.
Number of Invalid Ballots		483.
Candidate	For	Against
Genrikas Yankovskis	3,765	6,010
Yuozas Yanonis	2,112	7,663
Leonidas-Kyastutis Yaskelyavichyus	1,479	8,296
Romualdas Rudzis	2,120	7,655

*Vevisskiy Electoral District No. 138

Total Number of Voters		21,137.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		13,293.
Number of Invalid Ballots		191.
Candidate	For	Against
Kristiyonas Kemenetskas	1,513	11,586
Aleksandras Klumbis	3,881	9,218
Lenginas Shepetis	7,260	5,839

Lenginas SHEPETIS, a Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers advisor, Vilnius, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

*Trakayskiy Electoral District No. 139

Total Number of Voters		17,999.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		12,489.
Number of Invalid Ballots		163.
Candidate	For	Against
Mariyan-Iosif Adamovich	4,319	8,007
Vitautas Petkyavichyus	3,071	9,255
Rimvidas-Raymondas Survila	4,723	7,583

Varenskiy Electoral District No. 140

Total Number of Voters		22,748.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		18,472.
Number of Invalid Ballots		484.
Candidate	For	Against
Yuozas Dringyalis	10,507	7,481
Mindaugas-Eligiyus Rishkus	2,105	15,883
Ionas Syudikas	1,542	16,446
Zigmas-Yonas Vaychaytis	2,932	15,056

Iuozas DRINGYALIS, secretary of the Varenskiy Raysovet of People's Deputies Ispolkom, Varena, has been elected a People's Deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Lazdiyskiy Electoral District No. 141

Total Number of Voters		20,223.
Total Number of Voters Who Cast Ballots		15,841.
Number of Invalid Ballots		116.
Candidate	For	Against
Alfonsas-Pranas Beleshka	7,110	8,615
Ruta Gayauskayte	7,885	7,840

The Republic's voter rolls total 2,581,359 voters; 1,851,343 voters or 71.72 percent of the voters participated in the voting.

* In the districts marked by an asterisk in accordance with district electoral commissions decisions, a runoff will be conducted on 4, 7, or 10 March between the two candidates for people's deputy who received the greatest number of votes in accordance with Article 52 of the Law of the Lithuanian SSR on Election of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies.

** Since neither of the candidates in the districts marked by two asterisks garnered more than half of the votes of voters who participated in the elections for Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and in accordance with Article 53 of the Lithuanian SSR Law on Election of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies, the Republic Electoral Commission has designated repeat elections for 7 April 1990.

Latvian Party Appeals for Communist Consolidation

LD2203221990 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] We have received an appeal from the Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Comittee to the Republic's Communists. It states:

The majority of the Republic's party organizations and communists have received with understanding the decision made at the March plenum of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee on changing the date of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia.

At the same time the initiators and supporters of the independent Communist Party of Latvia actively continue to prepare for their founding congress, which is planned for 14 April.

The Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee believes that such an action is directed against the consolidation of communists of the republics.

Because of that we appeal to the Republic's communists to elect as delegates to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia such people who are capable of influencing the party in a consolidating manner and who have endeavored to work in the interests of its cardinal renewal and democratization, says the appeal of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee to the Republic's communists.

Latvian Front Leader Interviewed on Independence

AU2203130390 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 22 Mar 90 p 6

[Interview with Dainis Ivans, chairman of the Latvian People's Front and member of the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow, by Manfred Rowold in Riga; date not given: "Latvia to Follow Lithuania's Path to Freedom"]

[Text] [Rowold] After the first ballot, it looks as if the People's Front will get a two-thirds majority in the Latvian Supreme Soviet. Under these conditions, in what way will Latvia pursue independence?

[Ivans] Latvia's path will be the same as Lithuania's. We will declare our independence as a Latvian state, and we will hold talks with the Soviet Government. We will also turn to other countries, countries in the West.

[Rowold] Are you sure that Moscow will accept you as an equal partner in negotiations?

[Ivans] That will depend on Moscow's attitude and on how they intend to correct the wrong they did in the past. We were occupied and annexed in the past. This historic injustice must be abolished. We believe that that is what will happen.

[Rowold] So you believe that Moscow will negotiate?

[Ivans] Yes, certainly.

[Rowold] Do you not think that Moscow will impose sanctions or bring pressure to bear?

[Ivans] Maybe they will impose an economic blockade. However, such a blockade exists already now. Moscow has failed in many cases to supply our factories with raw materials, even though officially, no blockade has been imposed. However, we do not believe that they will exert military pressure. We want to convince Moscow that our freedom is also in Moscow's interest.

Basically, it is impossible to impose sanctions on Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia, because such sanctions would soon also have to be imposed on a number of other republics—such as the Georgian Republic, the Moldavian Republic, etc. It seems that other republics are copying the Baltic path. We have begun, and they carry on.

[Rowold] We have gained the impression that the will to pursue independence is primarily motivated by anticommunism and less by a Latvian national feeling. Is that correct?

[Ivans] It is the goal of all people in our country—Latvians, Russians, Jews, etc.—because a decent life, peace, and economic progress are not possible in our country without independence.

[Rowold] What do you accuse the Russian troops of? You are talking about occupiers. How do they behave?

[Ivans] It is totally unacceptable to have a foreign army, the army of a foreign country, in Latvia. If the Soviet Union considers it necessary for security reasons to deploy troops in this country, this must be settled by agreement between the Soviet Union and Latvia. It is quite possible that we will abolish the Army Commissariats in Latvia this year, and that we will stop having soldiers in the Soviet Army—as they did in Lithuania.

[Rowold] We understand that there have been casualties in the Army, and that force has been used against soldiers from the Baltic Republics.

[Ivans] Yes, there were many casualties among young soldiers in the Army, Latvian soldiers and Russians from Latvia. Last year, between 50 and 60 were killed. Our mothers no longer want to let their sons go to the Soviet Army. I know that the mothers in Georgia, Armenia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Belorussia do not want to let their sons go to the Army either.

[Rowold] Does that mean that the casualties were connected with the political situation?

[Ivans] Yes. I think the political situation had an influence.

[Rowold] Gorbachev has more power now as a president. Does that constitute a danger or a chance for the Baltic Republics?

[Ivans] It is a danger and a chance, because Mr. Gorbachev is a good partner in our talks on independence. That is a chance. On the other hand, we think, however, that he has too much power. That is a dangerous thing. Therefore, we want to negotiate with him as soon as possible.

[Rowold] You did not run as a candidate in the elections, even though you are well known in your country. Has your time not yet come?

[Ivans] I am going to run in the second round. It is our tactic: We have kept strong candidates for the next round, because the hardliners, too, will then also present their "heavy guns."

[Rowold] Moscow is preparing a law to regulate the problem of a republic's secession from the Soviet Union. This law apparently also envisages a referendum. What do you think about such a law?

[Ivans] Well, we have nothing to do with this law because we never acceded to the Soviet Union; we were occupied. We cannot accept the Soviet Union on the basis of such a law. We do not recognize this situation. All the world knows what happened in 1940. We could at best accede to the Soviet Union now—theoretically. In the next session of parliament, we will put the validity of the Soviet Constitution for our republic out of force.

[Rowold] Do you know how many soldiers there are in Latvia? Is there a way for you to control the number of soldiers who could turn up here in the next few days to take part in the elections?

[Ivans] We do not know how many soldiers there are in Latvia, nor do we have any possibility of checking the number of soldiers taking part in the elections. I would say that in view of the participation of soldiers, these elections are not totally democratic. There are close constituencies where we do not know what is going on.

[Rowold] The Interfront has accused the People's Front of provoking confrontation with other nationalities....

[Ivans] The Interfront is a conservative wing of the Communist Party. The situation is just the contrary: It is they who have provoked ethnic conflicts. An important point of our policy is ethnic consensus, because there are many nations in our republic which must live together in peace. The Interfront's policy, however, is based on ethnic dissension.

[Rowold] Have there been any clashes between ethnic groups in Latvia?

[Ivans] No, not yet. We hope that this will never happen. But I think that the Interfront anticipates such clashes. However, I believe that this is hardly possible in Latvia.

Parliament Appoints Independence Delegation

LD2303054990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0020 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (TANJUG)—The Presidium of Latvia's parliament has appointed a delegation to discuss economic and political independence of this Soviet Baltic republic with representatives of the top Soviet leadership, it was learned here on Thursday evening.

The decision follows the recent elections at which the supporters of Latvia's independence won the majority of seats on the republic's Supreme Soviet.

After Lithuania, Latvia is the second Soviet Baltic republic to demand independence.

Estonian Front Leader Seeks 'Occupied' Status

LD2103210390 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 2030 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] The present goal of the Estonian Popular Front is for Moscow and all of Europe to recognize the Baltic countries as occupied territory. The Popular Front hopes that the Baltic question will be taken up at the coming CSCE summit conference. This was stated by Marju Lauristin, a member of the Estonian Popular Front leadership, in Helsinki today. But Lauristin does not consider it necessary that the Estonian Parliament, or Supreme Soviet, should follow the example of Lithuania and declare Estonia independent.

Estonian Sees Threat to Lithuania as 'Symbolic'

LD2203181190 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1700 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Marju Lauristin, a member of the leadership of the Estonian Popular Front and of the Social Democratic Party, describes the Soviet measures for exerting pressure on Lithuania, which is striving for independence, as very hard. As proof of this she mentions President Mikhail Gorbachev's order that all Lithuanians must hand over their weapons temporarily to the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs. Lauristin says she is completely certain that Lithuania does not pose any armed threat to the Soviet Union. Thus Gorbachev's order is, in her view, a symbolic military threat against Lithuania.

A more than 10-strong delegation of the Estonian Popular Front, led by Marju Lauristin, visited, among others, the Finnish Diet today. There the members of the delegation described their goals to the Diet's perestroyka group and to the representatives of the Diet groups.

Estonian Pro-Independence Groups Win Majority

AU2203211590 Paris AFP in English 2022 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (AFP)—Supporters of Estonian independence won a huge majority of the 105 seats in the Baltic Republic's parliament in elections last Sunday, an Estonian representative here said in a statement Thursday. According to the statement, nearly 75 percent of the deputies elected to the Estonian Supreme Soviet on Sunday belong to pro-independence groups—either the Popular Front, or the Free Estonia movement. It said that 27 deputies in the new parliament were members of the so-called International Bloc which favors keeping Estonia in the Soviet Union. Sixty of the elected deputies are also members of the Estonian Communist Party, the statement said, adding that party chief Vayno Vyalyas won a seat in the body.

The Estonian Communist Party is scheduled to hold a meeting on Friday during which it may declare itself independent of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Communist Party in another Baltic republic, Lithuania, divorced itself from the Soviet Communist party in December. Lithuania went on to declare its independence from Moscow on March 11.

The Estonian representative said three of the top supporters of independence for Estonia, Indrak Toome, Mariu Lauristin, and Arnold Ruutel, won seats in the Estonian parliament.

According to a poll carried out in February by an Estonian institute, Mainor, and cited by the statement, 61 percent of the residents of Estonia are in favor of independence of the republic annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940 along with Lithuania and the other Baltic republic Latvia.

Estonia has a population of 1.6 million, 28 percent of whom are Russians. Estonians account for 65 percent of the total population. The survey found that 84 percent of ethnic Estonians favored independence but just 18 percent of the members of other communities.

Estonian Party Congress Previewed

LD2303103290 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 23 Mar 90

["Estonian Communist Congress—Split or Consolidation?"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Political life in Estonia seems to have ebbed after the Estonian Congress and a number of mass rallies were held. People are waiting for the final results of the elections to the republican parliament, for possible developments in Lithuania and, especially, for the 20th Congress of the Estonian Communist Party, opening today.

Will Estonian communists follow the example of the Lithuanian Communist Party? The party chief of the city of Tartu, J. Tamme, says he does not agree with those who believe that "the Lithuanian experience is unacceptable in Estonia."

In an interview with the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA, he said Lithuanians "apparently, did not plan out their move—slamming the door is no good. On the other hand, Lithuanian communists won 40 seats in the republican parliament."

Tamme rules out compromise at the Estonian Communist Congress.

But there are other views. P. Panfilov, second secretary of the Tallinn Communist Party Committee, calls for the consolidation of the party.

Panfilov, who won a seat in the republican parliament at recent elections, says "those who call for a split in the party are making a historical mistake."

On the eve of the congress, the city councils of Kohtla-Jarve, Narva and Sillamae, northeast Estonia, held a joint session.

The session, held under the aegis of the "for equal rights" deputies' group and attended by some 200 deputies of various levels, discussed the pooling of efforts by deputies in the region to solve social, economic and environmental problems.

Estonian Party Congress Begins Work 23 Mar

LD2303121790 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In Tallinn the Communist Party [CP] of Estonia Congress has started in an atmosphere of stormy debates and probably they have as yet not even got down to the report. Is that so, Gunnar Paal?

[Paal] Indeed, the report will be presented in 15 minutes, after a break. When this morning at 1000, at the Sakala Center, the 20th CP of Estonia Congress started its work, I had a desire to prompt Vaino Valjas [first secretary of Estonian CP Central Committee], chairing the meeting, with the words: "calm, only keep calm!" of Karlsson [character from children's book] which are known both to young and old. This calm was and is very much needed to formulate finally what the CP of Estonia Congress has come together for.

Tensions were raised at the beginning already by the elections for the Congress working bodies. Some circles were interested that at any cost Mikk Titma [ideology secretary of CP of Estonia Central Committee] should be pushed out of the working presidium. Mikk Titma stayed on within the working Presidium with 394 votes in favor and 242 against. Just as at the Party Conference [9 Feb] over a month ago, this served as a kind of an indicator of the balance of forces. I will stress the results of voting on Mikk Titma once more: 394 in favor and 242 against. Whether this figure is likely to hold in voting on other issues will be shown by the progress of the congress. [passage omitted]

The congress advanced at a snail's pace but it did advance. All the points on the agenda were voted on individually. What else can I say but: what a congress this is! [passage omitted]

I picked up one of the official documents of the congress—it is a draft as yet—resolution of the 20th CP of Estonia Congress on the historical-political assessment of CP of Estonian activity. I will read an excerpt [from it]:

The history of the CP of Estonia demonstrates that the main faults of the party originate from the fact that during the whole time of its existence the CP of Estonia has actually never been an independent political force, and that not even in the twenties and thirties when it functioned as one of the sections of the Comintern, as well as during the 1940 events. In October that year the CP of Estonia was unilaterally included in the composition of the CPSU, in essence as an oblast organization. In this status it also finds itself today.

It is understandable that in some cases the content and direction of activity of the CP of Estonia, the behavior of the party leadership and the party rank-and-file communists were determined by conditions which did not depend on them. This applies in respect of the period of the personality cult in particular. The CP of Estonia, like the whole of the Estonian nation, lacked an option. That does not mean, however, that during its years of activity there were no independently-thinking communists found within the ranks of the CP of Estonia to express the interests of the people. But a number of them fell victim to repressions, at different times.

Analyzing the past of the CP of Estonia critically, the congress condemns the false policy and activity of the party, which have brought grave consequences for the Estonian people and for [Estonia's] own statehood. The CP of Estonia, together with the CPSU and union central powers bears responsibility for acts of force against the Estonian people. Responsibility of each party member for his acts is specific and individual.

That was [from] the draft [resolution] for the congress. And time will show what attitude the CP of Estonia Congress, which started today, will take in respect of this draft. [passage omitted]